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Teaching Dilemmas: Language Development for English Learners In a Hyper-Segregated Dual Immersion Program

Allison Briceño
abriceno@gmail.com

The University of San Francisco

TEACHING DILEMMAS:
LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT FOR ENGLISH LEARNERS IN A HYPER-SEGREGATED DUAL IMMERSION PROGRAM

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Dissertation Abstract

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English learners (ELs), a growing population in U.S. schools, generally underperform as compared to their monolingual English peers. One potential solution to this EL achievement gap has been the implementation of Dual Immersion (DI) programs. However, given that ELs are often densely concentrated in schools with limited access to native English-speaking peers, some schools do not have enough native English-speaking students to constitute a true DI program.

This qualitative study explored language development practices in both Spanish and English in a Northern California hyper-segregated DI elementary school, where almost all the students were English learners. The participants were four Latina and Spanish teachers of kindergarten through fourth grade. The primary research focus was to identify the specific language development practices these teachers used. Secondary questions focused on teachers' use of transfer between languages and reciprocity among reading, writing, listening and speaking. Three conceptual frameworks that simultaneously impact ELs were employed to analyze the data: early literacy, second language acquisition, and sociocultural theory.

Research data included three months of classroom observations and interviews with teachers at the beginning, middle and end of the study. The findings revealed that while teachers implemented a variety of language development practices, such as choral

practices, instructional conversations about language, and turn-and-talk, they did not ask students to think critically. Additionally, teachers rarely employed transfer or reciprocity.

On a positive note, teachers did actively advocate for primary language maintenance and second language development. In fact, they evidenced significant agency in doing what they thought was best for their students despite a punitive, chaotic school context, resulting in a lack of a "program" in the DI program. Teachers knew they had to adapt the DI model based on their students and did so independently, without the support or knowledge of the site administrators or, in some cases, even their colleagues. Through sharing these significant findings, this study aims to contribute insights to the challenges of how to best serve English learners in hyper-segregated public schools.

This dissertation, written under the direction of the candidate's dissertation committee and approved by the members of the committee, has been presented to and accepted by the Faculty of the School of Education in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education. The content and methodologies presented in this work represent the work of the candidate alone.

_Allison Briceño_____	___May 27, 2013__
Candidate	Date

Dissertation Committee

_Susan Katz, Ph.D._____	___May 27, 2013__
Chairperson	
_Sarah Capitelli, Ph.D._____	__May 7, 2013____
_Helen Maniates, Ph.D._____	__May 7, 2013____

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF FIGURES AND TABLES

CHAPTER I:

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Teacher: Which two animals compete for the same resource? What are the animals, and what resource do they compete for?
EL student: Sea star, sea cucumber, kelp.
Teacher: Can you say that in a sentence?
EL student: [silent]
Teacher: What are the two animals?
EL student: Sea star and sea cucumber.
Teacher: What resource do they compete for?
EL student: Kelp.
Teacher: Okay, (pointing to chart that shows the ecosystem and speaking slowly) the sea star and sea cucumber compete for the kelp. Everyone, say it with me.
Teacher and students, chorally: The sea star and sea cucumber compete for the kelp.
(Briceño, 2011, pilot study field notes, October 7, 2011)

The fourth grade Spanish-English dual immersion (DI) teacher and students in the above dialogue were learning about language along with the ecosystem of the kelp forest. The Spanish-dominant student understood the teacher's question in English and was able to answer it correctly using the vocabulary from the lesson, but he was unable to explain the relationship between the kelp and its predators. Despite his knowledge of the vocabulary, or "bricks" of language, he could not compose a sentence using the linking words, or "mortar" of language (Dutro & Moran, 2003, p. 28). A number of Spanish-dominant students exhibited the same behavior during this lesson: They could provide one- or two-word answers, but could not extend the vocabulary into sentences.

This example of students struggling with academic language illustrates the need for further research about the process by which teachers support English Learners'

(ELs')[1] acquisition of academic language. To respond to this need I conducted a qualitative study to explore how DI teachers facilitated ELs' acquisition of academic English and Spanish, including reading, writing and oral "speech events" (listening and speaking) (Heath, 2001, p. 445).

For the purpose of this study, ELs are defined as non-native English speakers and speakers of non-standard, "stigmatized" registers of English (Godley & Minnici, 2008, p. 321). Academic language is defined as the register required for success in school, or the ability to comprehend instruction and "extract meaning from written text, and to argue a point both verbally and in writing" (Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, & Todorova, 2008, p. 41).

Statement of the Problem

Academic language is one lever that can boost ELs' academic performance. Knowledge of academic language is important for positive achievement outcomes in school, as language is the foundation of instruction and literacy (Delpit, 1992; Gentile, 2003; Valdés, Bunch, Snow & Lee, 2005). Despite its importance, academic language is often not explicitly taught in classrooms as teachers tend to assume it is acquired naturally. This assumption may privilege mainstream students who learn academic language at home, and disadvantage those who do not (Alim, 2005; Delpit, 2001; Valdés, 2004).

[1] I employ the term used at the study site, English Learner (EL). Cook (2002) pointed out that the term "L2 learner" can be considered "demeaning" to someone who has been operating in the language for an extended period of time (p. 4). However, since the students in this study are exactly that – students of language, both Spanish and English – I consider "learner" to be appropriate and respectful.

When language instruction does occur, it is often via a "nonconversational style of instruction" (Tharp & Gallimore, 1988, p. 100). Initiation-Response-Feedback (IRF) has been documented as the most common form of interaction in classrooms, and does not facilitate oral practice (Hoetker & Ahlbrand, 1969; Mehan, 1979, Van Lier, 1996). In fact, Long and Porter (1985) estimated that students in language classrooms speak for only "*one hour per student per year*" (p. 208, italics in original). They concluded that this is far from enough time to learn a language. Quiet classrooms are still the norm in most schools, despite the awareness that language learning is a social process (Bruner, 1983; Vygotsky, 1978).

The importance of academic language in English was evidenced in a large-scale study of over 400 immigrant students. Suárez-Orozco, et al. (2008) found that "English-language proficiency is the single-best student level predictor of academic outcomes as measured by an achievement test as well as GPA" (p. 52). In fact, English-language proficiency accounted for at least 75 percent of the variance for achievement test outcomes, having three times the predictive value of all the other student variables combined. Exploring how teachers support academic language acquisition in both Spanish and English is one small but important piece in a complex set of variables that impact ELs' academic outcomes. As Suárez-Orozco, et al. (2008) wrote:

> To get to the point of being able, in a second language, to argue about the relative merits of an issue, write a quality essay, read quickly enough to be competitive on a timed test, or detect the subtle differences between multiple choice items on the SAT, simply takes extensive time as well as high-quality education (pp. 151-152).

Academic language in English plays an important role in the high-quality education to which the authors refer, and merits further research (Suárez-Orozco, et al., 2008). This study explored ELs' acquisition of academic language and literacy in both Spanish and English.

Background and Need for the Study

Nationally, U.S. schools served 5.3 million ELs during the 2008-2009 school year (U.S. Department of Education, 2011; Hakuta, 2011). However, poor academic performance may limit ELs' opportunities for future educational, social, professional and economic advancement (Valdés, 2004). On the 2009 NAEP, only six percent of fourth grade EL students scored proficient in reading, compared with 34 percent of non-EL students. The results were similar for eighth grade, with three percent of ELs and 32 percent of non-ELs scoring proficient (National Center for Educational Statistics). Additionally, EL students are more likely to be identified as having learning disabilities or "mental retardation" as compared to White, English-speaking students (Sullivan, 2011, p. 317). These statistics raise the question: Why are EL students performing so poorly compared to their native English-speaking peers?

This question has many potential answers. First, certain educational structures may reduce the likelihood of EL success. For example, although studies have shown that it takes seven to ten years for ELs to acquire academic English, they are expected to take standardized tests in their second language almost immediately (Collier, 1992; Cummins, 1991). Second, despite various studies showing that ELs perform better in both English and Spanish when provided with high-quality dual language instruction (Lindholm-Leary, 2001; Potowski, 2004; Thomas & Collier, 2002), anti-bilingual legislation and policy,

such as California's 1998 Proposition 227, have significantly reduced the availability of bilingual programs despite the increasingly large numbers of ELs in California schools. During the 2009-2010 school year 204,280 teachers instructed almost 1.5 million EL students in California, 85 percent of who were native Spanish speakers (California Department of Education, 2010).

Third, ELs are densely populated in few urban schools that tend to have large proportions of ELs and little access to English-speaking peers (García, Kleifgen & Falchi, 2008; Gifford & Valdés, 2006). In fact, 70 percent of ELs are in just 10 percent of schools due to the high degree of housing and linguistic segregation in the U.S. Fourth, the schools ELs attend are low performing: In California 72 percent of students attending schools in Program Improvement[2] status are Latino, compared to only 11 percent of white students (Gifford & Valdés, 2006). While not all Hispanic[3] students are ELs, attending low-performing, linguistically segregated schools would not help Hispanic students to achieve English proficiency. A fifth possibility is a dearth of exposure to academic language in the classroom (Suárez-Orozco, et al., 2008). This study focused on the latter possibility, with the recognition that external social factors, like socioeconomics and immigration status, also have an enormous impact on school performance.

My study site, Jackson Avenue Academy (JAA), reflects the national tendency toward hyper-segregation (Gifford & Valdés, 2006; Valdés, Capitelli & Alvarez, 2011). The 2009-2010 student demographics included 79 percent Latino students, six percent

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[2] If a school does not meet its Annual Yearly Progress (AYP) goals, determined by state assessment scores, it goes into Program Improvement (PI) status (California Department of Education).

[3] Hispanic is the term used by Gifford and Valdés (2006). I use Latino instead of Hispanic throughout this study.

African America, three percent Pacific Islander, .7 percent white, and 11 percent who identified as two or more races, not Latino. In addition, 64 percent of students were designated as ELs, 92 percent of whom were native Spanish speakers (California Department of Education, 2010). Valdés et al. (2011) called for more research on the challenges of educating ELs in hyper-segregated settings, where the teacher may be the only native English speaker.

Linguistic isolation may impact students' acquisition of English (Valdés, et al., 2011) and therefore their achievement as measured by standardized tests (Gifford & Valdés, 2006). Performing well on standardized tests is a requirement students must meet to be reclassified as a "fluent English speaker" rather than an EL. At JAA, performance on the 2010 state achievement tests, administered to second through eighth grade students, showed 25 to 38 percent of students as proficient or advanced, depending on the grade level. No significant performance difference existed for EL students at JAA since they comprise such a high percentage of total students.

Finally, under the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) of 2001, instruction in many high-poverty, low-performing schools became curriculum-based and teacher-centered rather than student-centered (Zacher Pandya, 2011). Teachers were told to abide by strict curriculum pacing guides, regardless of whether or not students kept up with the pace of instruction. Zacher Pandya found that the pacing guide, enforced by administrator surveillance, prevented deep discussions about important topics, as teachers felt pressured to move through the curriculum. Instead, there was "A scarcity of occasions for meaningful engagement with the English language in and around texts" (p.57). The lack of depth Zacher Pandya referred to was also a key finding in this dissertation.

According to the pacing guide, EL students were required to do the same work and progress at the same speed as other students, regardless of whether they were almost proficient or new to English without the necessary scaffolding. Zacher Pandya (2011) concluded, "Accountability pressures create disjunctures between what research suggests teachers ought to do and what federal, state and district policies require them to do" (p. 13). Teachers in her study were not allowed to diverge from the pacing guide and script to support EL students who were not yet at grade level in literacy, at least not during the two and a half hour language arts block.

Academic Language

The definition of academic language is contested. Valdés (2004) claimed that no clear definition of academic English is agreed upon by the communities of educators in ESL (K-12), Teachers of English as a Second or Other Language (TESOL), bilingual education, and mainstream English classes. Discussions of academic language in the research literature primarily refer to academic English (exceptions, discussed in Chapter II, include Alvarez, 2011; Guerrero, 2003; Potowski, 2007; Valdés & Geoffrion-Vinci, 1998), but there is no agreed-upon definition of the term.

Without a clear definition of academic language, how do educators know when students understand and produce it? Too often ELs are held to the English monolingual norm, and accuracy or correctness is lauded (Alvarez, 2011; Cook, 2002). If we hold bilingual students to the English monolingual norm, we may be valuing accuracy over depth of linguistic understanding. However, schools maintain certain language requirements that can interfere with EL students' academic success (Valdés, et al., 2005).

We hold EL students to high levels of academic English without defining it for them and possibly without even understanding it ourselves.

Cook (2002) stated that "L2 [second language] users have different minds from monolinguals" and lists linguistic and cognitive benefits stemming from knowledge of more than one language, such as more flexible thinking, increased language awareness, rapid reading skills, and improved communication skills in the first language (p. 7). How can educators begin to recognize these linguistic and cognitive strengths in their EL students, rather than focusing on accuracy and accent reduction?

For this dissertation, academic language is the register required for success in schools. It is operationalized as the ability to comprehend instruction, "extract meaning from written text, and to argue a point both verbally and in writing" (Suárez-Orozco, et al., 2008, p. 41). This is similar to Valdés' (2004) definition of academic language from the perspective of K-12 ESL teachers.

Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

The purpose of this study was to explore the practices DI teachers employ to deliver high-quality academic language instruction for ELs in both Spanish and English, including reading, writing, listening and speaking. I selected DI classrooms because the role of language is central to DI instruction, as educators must teach both Spanish and English while teaching in each language.

The overarching research question that guided this study was: How do educators facilitate ELs' acquisition of academic language in Spanish and English in a hyper-segregated setting? The sub-questions were: (i) How do teachers use the concept of *transfer* between English and Spanish to facilitate student learning? (ii) How do teachers

use the concept of *reciprocity* among the domains of reading, writing, speaking and listening to facilitate student learning?

Transfer occurs when skills and knowledge learned in one language are appropriately used in a second language (L2) to facilitate learning in the L2 (Goldenberg, 2008). Similarly, reciprocity is concerned with the relationship among reading, writing, listening and speaking and how knowledge in one or more of those areas can further learning in the others. Clay (2004) argued, "Learning in one language area enriches the potential for learning in the other areas. Therefore, if we plan instruction that links oral language and literacy learning (writing and reading) from the start … instruction will be more powerful" (p. 9). Clay used the term "language areas" to refer to reading, writing, listening and speaking, emphasizing that language is the foundation of literacy. Both transfer and reciprocity build on students' prior knowledge and strengths, either in their first language (transfer) or in other language areas (reciprocity), to help them learn new content or processes.

Theoretical Framework

Swain and Deters (2007) called for the use of a sociocultural perspective in second language acquisition research, as it emphasizes the role of the individual's identity and agency as well as the learner's context. Additionally, Laija-Rodriguez, Ochoa and Parker (2006) recommend beginning to incorporate reading development theory into research on English learners. Using a sociocultural lens (Delpit, 1992; Vygotsky, 1986, 1978), I explored how DI teachers supported students' language acquisition in both Spanish and English. This study also employed first and second language acquisition theory (Bruner, 1983; Cummins, 1991; Krashen, 1986; Swain, 2000,

2005) and literacy theory (Clay, 2001, 1991; Dyson, 1983; Holdaway, 1979; Kintsch, 2005; Kintsch & Kintsch, 2005) to analyze language instructional practices in a linguistically hyper-segregated DI program.

Sociocultural Theory

The overarching framework for this study is the sociocultural concept that language and conversation are integral to the learning process because learning is a social act embedded in culture (Bakhtin, 1981; Bruner, 1983, Tharp & Gallimore, 1988; Vygotsky, 1978). Exploring the social nature of language, Bakhtin (1981) wrote, "Form and content in discourse are one, once we understand that verbal discourse is a social phenomenon – social throughout its entire range and in each and every of its factors, from the sound image to the furthest reaches of abstract meaning" (p. 259). The social aspect of language incorporates the speaker, the listener(s), their personal identities(s) and the context, or culture.

Culture undergirds the social nature of language, and should not be forgotten in a discussion of language. Bruner (1983) stated:

> I have tried to set forth a view of language acquisition that makes it continuous with and dependent on the child's acquisition of his culture. Culture is constituted of symbolic procedures, concepts and distinctions that can only be made in language. It is constituted for the child in the very act of mastering language. Language, in consequence, cannot be understood save in its cultural setting (p. 134).

Yet students come to school with a variety of cultural understandings, languages and registers that differ from each other and from those of the teachers. Since

communication is based on cultural understandings it is important for teachers to authentically respect students' cultures and "speech diversity" (Bahktin, 1981, p. 272) in order to change the traditional role of schools as acculturation machines. All students bring linguistic knowledge and strengths regardless of whether their language(s) conform to the rules of standard English.

The language or register one speaks is a cultural rather than a cognitive construct, yet speakers of non-standard English are often saddled with low expectations in schools (Compton-Lilly, 2009). In addition, schools have not historically been set up to serve ELs. Bruner (1983) claimed that language can only be learned communicatively due to its social nature, but students are often required to be silent in class, which would slow learning (Tharp & Gallimore, 1988).

Another fundamental sociocultural concept is that students bring to school different "funds of knowledge that can form the bases for an education that far exceeds what working-class students usually receive" (Moll, 2007, p. 273). Traditionally, those funds of knowledge are recognized in school only if they are granted importance by the dominant culture. In fact, student differences that are cultural rather than cognitive often result in students encountering low expectations as early as kindergarten (Compton-Lilly, 2009). A wide range of experiences contribute to literacy learning, and teachers must actively seek out ways to activate students' home schema or background knowledge to support academic success. In theory, a DI program should build on Latino students' funds of knowledge, as their home language is an important component of the program. However, Valdés and Geoffrion-Vinci (1998) noted that native Spanish speakers may not

have access to an academic register outside of school, and their colloquial Spanish may not be valued in school.

Some researchers and teachers question whether or not academic discourse can and should be taught in school. Delpit (1992) offered an emphatic "yes." While some teachers believe that teaching mainstream discourse to students of color might entrap them in the systemic oppression prevalent in schools, Delpit argued that students should be explicitly taught mainstream discourse in order to gain access to success and power. Students can then use that knowledge to subvert or change the status quo. Knowing academic language in addition to their home language enables ELs to use "European philosophical and critical standards to challenge the tenets of European belief systems" (Delpit, 1992, p. 248). Academic discourse provides an entry to opportunities that students might not otherwise have. Delpit wrote, "Status is also maintained because dominant groups in a society apply frequent 'tests' of fluency in the Dominant discourses, often focused on its most superficial aspects – grammar, style, mechanics – so as to exclude from full participation those who are not born to positions of power" (p. 243). Without the ability to use academic language, students can often be excluded from positions of power.

Some scholars have argued that educators should appreciate and validate the language or register the student speaks at home, and then help that student transition to standard English to achieve academic success (Baker, 2002; Christensen, 2011; Compton-Lilly, 2009; Delpit, 1992). Academic language would then be taught as an additional register rather than as a replacement for students' home language.

Sociocultural theory and literacy. Gee (2001) and Street (2001, 2003) view literacy as more than a set of discrete, technical skills to be learned. They proposed that literacy is a social practice situated in the worlds in which students live. This is particularly true in DI programs, where students are learning two languages, and therefore are also learning about the two cultures associated with those languages. Street (2003) wrote about "literacy as a social practice" (p. 77):

> This entails the recognition of multiple literacies, varying according to time and space, but also contested in relations of power … problematizing what counts as literacy at any time and place and asking 'whose literacies' are dominant and whose are marginalized or resistant (p. 77).

Viewing literacy as a social process, Street (2001, 2003) incorporated into the discussion of literacy complex variables such as power relations, race, gender, home language or register, ethnicity, social class and education level. He acknowledged that students are individuals whose backgrounds and home life should be valued whether or not students are part of the mainstream, dominant culture.

Like Freire and Macedo (1987) and Street (2001, 2003), Fairclough (1999) disliked the concept of literacy as skill acquisition. He wrote, "Any reduction of discourse to skills is complicit with efforts on the part of those who have power to impose social practices they favour by getting people to see them as mere techniques" (p. 81). In other words, teaching skills independent of the critical thought necessary to use those skills to better one's position is equivalent to implicitly maintaining the status quo.

Alim (2010) found this assertion to be accurate. Furthermore, his research showed that well-intentioned teachers may be viewed as "subscribing to an ideology of linguistic

supremacy" by their students when teachers insist on "correct" language without discussing with students the complexities behind their choice of register (p. 212). Teachers may have the best intentions, but if they do not view language critically and teach their students to do the same, their authority becomes dominating rather than liberating. Fairclough (1999) proposed that educating students to be critically aware of language empowers them to question "what counts as knowledge or skill (and therefore what does not), for whom, why, and with what beneficial or problematic consequences" (p. 81). Explicit teaching of academic language is one part of language instruction that is currently missing in classrooms. If students can "talk the talk" of the mainstream and critically consider the implications of their language choice, they will be empowered by language rather than dominated by it.

Academic language can be taught as an additional register rather than as a replacement for the home language for two reasons: to enhance the implicit value of the first language, and to improve ELs' chances of academic success in academic English, leading to school success (Alim, 2005; Baker, 2002; Christensen, 2011; Compton-Lilly, 2009; Delpit, 1992; Valdés, Brookes & Chávez, 2003). Bilingual education is one way, albeit an imperfect one, to respect the home language of ELs in order to change the traditional role of schools as acculturation machines.

First and Second Language Acquisition Theory

Language acquisition is complex. This section discusses ideas on how first and second languages are acquired, how those processes are similar and different from each other, and how they may support each other.

First language acquisition. In the first years of a child's life, s/he is learning the cultural rules of the home and values of the caretakers as well as the home language. Schools similarly impart cultural and linguistic knowledge, but the question of *whose* values, language and knowledge is complex. Freire (1974) reminded us that schools have traditionally been used to indoctrinate and acculturate students to mainstream values and language, which can result in oppression and exclusion of students not from the majority culture.

The manner in which children acquire language from caretakers has been well studied by researchers (Bruner, 1983; Hakuta, 1976; Vygotsky, 1978). Bruner (1983) pointed to the "fine tuning" that parents use with children who are learning language (p. 38). Parents are extremely sensitive to the child's progress and use the "handover principle" to gradually allow the child to take on more and more of the speaking role, as the child develops readiness (p. 60). A classroom parallel is the "gradual release of responsibility," as teachers aim to slowly turn over the responsibility for accomplishing a task to the students until they can do it independently (Pearson & Gallagher, 1983, p. 35).

Vygotsky (1986) noted that a child comes to school "with a command of the grammar of his native tongue" acquired in an "unconscious" way (p. 184). Schooling allows the student to consciously learn the rules of language, including writing and grammar, which elevate the student's language. In order for this to occur, teachers must know their students' linguistic and academic strengths and learning gaps. Listening acutely to students' language enables the teacher to determine the students' zone(s) of proximal development (ZPD), or "the distance between the actual development level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as

determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers" (p. 86). However, if ELs have trouble expressing what they know about a topic in English, the teacher might underestimate their ZPD, resulting in low expectations for these students (Compton-Lilly, 2009). Native language support and/or assessment can help to avoid misconceptions based on linguistic output. The possibility of this misconception, however, is an argument for providing explicit language instruction as well as opportunities for students to engage with others using academic language in authentic, interesting conversations (Frey & Fisher, 2011; Tharp & Gallimore, 1988).

Second language acquisition. Since communication is the primary reason for language, and language exists in a social world, second language acquisition is motivated by "communicative needs and functions" (Abrar-Ul-Hassan, 2011, p. 511). This definition includes the pragmatic, sociocultural and communicative aspects of bilingualism and sets a high standard for communicative competence. Authentic discourse in the target language is imperative for learners to use and acquire the language. Krashen (1981) argued that language acquisition "requires meaningful interaction in the target language –natural communication— in which speakers are concerned not with the form of their utterances but with the messages they are conveying and understanding" (1981, p. 1). This is similar to how an L1 is acquired: through meaningful communication rather than formal rules. When rules are used, Krashen (1982) considered it to be *learning* a language, which he found to be less effective than language acquisition.

Meaning is what allows language users to monitor their comprehension and language use. Krashen's (1982) "monitor hypothesis" stated that the primary purpose of learned rules is to "monitor" a speaker's output (p. 15). The monitor hypothesis requires

that the speaker know the linguistic rule, be focused on form enough to use it, and have the time to think about and apply the rule. Without these three conditions being met, a speaker will not be able to monitor his output. The concept of monitoring is also relevant to monitoring one's comprehension during reading or listening, and monitoring one's writing.

Krashen's (1982) "input hypothesis" stated that input must be comprehensible to the L2 learner for acquisition to occur (p. 20). Krashen wrote, "a necessary (but not sufficient) condition to move from stage i to stage i + 1 is that the acquirer understand input that contains i + 1, where "understand" means that the acquirer is focused on the meaning and not the form of the message" (p. 21). Whether or not comprehensible input is sufficient for second language acquisition is debated. Long and Porter (1985) argued that learners must be in a position to "negotiate the new input, thereby ensuring that the language in which it is heard is modified to exactly the level of comprehensibility they can manage" (p. 214). This evolved into the interaction hypothesis, which states that negotiation of language facilitates its acquisition (Long, 1996). Long wrote, "negotiation for meaning, and especially negotiation work that triggers interactional adjustments by the [native speaker] or more competent interlocutor facilitates acquisition because it connects input, internal learner capacities, particularly selective attention, and output in productive ways" (pp. 451-452). A productive DI classroom for ELs or Spanish learners would require native speakers of the target language to be interaction partners with the language learner. It would also necessitate plentiful opportunities for students to work together and negotiate content.

Swain (2000) contended that limited research connects language learning with

comprehensible input. Instead, she argued for the output hypothesis, emphasizing the importance of interaction from the perspective of what the learner is able to produce. When producing language, the learner controls the language, allowing her to notice a "hole" in her language when it exists (p. 100). Learners may attempt to fill the linguistic void through a variety of avenues, including "collaborative dialogue," or "dialogue in which speakers are engaged in problem solving and knowledge building" (p. 102). The concept of collaborative dialogue is similar to the interaction hypothesis in that they both build on the sociocultural concept that language mediates learning (Vygotsky, 1978, 1986). In collaborative dialogue one learns via language, both input and output (Swain, 2000). Of course, the input must be comprehensible, which depends on many factors, both linguistic and individual-specific, such as background knowledge on a topic. Similarly, a language learner's output will represent her current ability to produce a certain level of language on a certain topic.

Cummins (2007) referred to the idea that both the topic and the individual impact a language learner's ability to comprehend and produce language as "internal and external dimensions" of contextual support, where internal factors relate to the individual learner, and external factors relate to aspects of the language (p. 126). Despite individual differences among language learners, Cummins suggested that language develops along two continua: the level of cognitive demand and the range of contextual support. Basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS), commonly referred to as social language, is typically highly contextualized, has low cognitive demands and is more quickly learned by immigrant children learning a second language than academic language is. Cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP), or academic language, is defined as "expertise in

understanding and using literacy-related aspects of language" (p. 124). CALP reflects the register of school, can take up to ten years or more to achieve, and is based in literacy skills.

Academics have contested Cummins' (2007) distinction between BICS and CALP. First, "what counts as academic language is an utterly social phenomenon," and is therefore dynamic and changing (Aukerman, 2007, p. 629). Second, Alvarez (2011) pointed out that CALP is often defined in the negative sense, as lacking from students' repertoires. Third, it is difficult to precisely distinguish between BICS and CALP in certain learning contexts, and the requirements for what makes language "academic" change as students go up in the grades or into varying contexts (Aukerman, 2007). Fourth, teachers often consider academic language to be written only, and some researchers argue for the value of oral expression to evidence comprehension (Alvarez, 2011) and to accomplish academic work (Valdés et al., 2011). Fifth, face-to-face conversation is a critical aspect of language development, but the concept of BICS devalues it as less academic than CALP, which is often associated with written language (Valdés et al., 2011). Sixth, Alvarez (2011) expressed concern over the notion that CALP is defined as decontextualized language and argued that no learning situation is completely decontextualized. Seventh, educators have used a low level of CALP to argue that a student is not ready to learn content, which is counterproductive for ELs (Aukerman, 2007).

Finally, there is the question of expectations for ELs' language, particularly as compared to the monolingual norm, in either Spanish or English. Related to that question is whether or not to expect error-free language from young bilinguals in either language.

Latino students in the U.S. often speak a different, non-standard register of Spanish than might be spoken in their home countries, just as speakers of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) do in the U.S. (Alvarez, 2011). What are the expectations for these students in Spanish and English? Alvarez (2011) and Valdés et al. (2011) argued that it is not appropriate to compare ELs to the monolingual norm in either language. Educators can maintain high standards for EL students in both languages while focusing on the content rather than the form.

First and second language acquisition: transfer and interference. When two languages are not learned together from birth, as is often the case for EL students in schools, the second language (L2) may develop differently than the first (L1) (Cook, 2002; Vygotsky, 1986). An L1 is learned orally, in a natural context, while an L2 is often learned through rules in a classroom. In an L2, oral and written language often develops simultaneously, while in an L1, writing comes later than speech in a child's life. Therefore, Vygotsky (1986) concluded:

> The child can transfer to the new language the system of meanings he already possesses in his own. The reverse is also true—a foreign language facilitates mastering the higher forms of the native language. The child learns to see his language as one particular system among many, to view its phenomena under more general categories, and this leads to awareness of his linguistic operations (pp. 195-196).

In other words, the development of the L1 and the L2 work together symbiotically to enhance both languages. Similarly, Cummins (2007) developed a "common underlying proficiency model" (CUP) which states that experience with either L1 or L2 can promote

development in both languages (p. 113). Cummins based his CUP model on (i) research of bilingual programs in which students do as well as their EL peers in English-only instruction despite instructional time being used for L1 development, and (ii) research documenting the correlation between bilingual students' literacy skills in their L1 and their L2. Cummins concluded that development of L1 literacy skills can positively impact English literacy, but warned that transfer of academic language and literacy may not happen without explicit instruction.

Research on Dual Immersion programs has supported these claims, showing that Latino students in Dual Immersion programs perform better on both English and Spanish language arts tests than their Latino peers in English-only classes (Lindholm-Leary, 2001, Thomas & Collier, 2002). Researchers believe this may be due to the cross-linguistic transfer of L1 knowledge to L2 (Lindholm-Leary, 2001, Thomas & Collier, 2002). However, Cook (2002) has critiqued the concept of transfer as misrepresenting the interaction between an L1 and an L2. She reported that in a bilingual brain one's languages lie on an "integration continuum," from fully integrated to completely separated, with neither extreme being possible (p. 11). The continuum applies across different aspects of language, such as phonology and grammar, and change over time is expected. To Cook, the continuum implies that languages are overlapping systems, thus the notion of transferring what one knows in the L1 to an L2 is misguided. She suggested that concepts known in one language do not transfer to another, but instead serve as a foundation on which the same or similar concepts in the L2 are built. For the purpose of this study I use "transfer" because it continues to be the term most widely used in Second Language Acquisition research.

In contrast to transfer, it has also been found that an L1 can interfere with L2 acquisition (Krashen, 1981). L1 interference has been evidenced in word order and in environments where an L2 needs to be learned through rules and translation rather than acquired naturally through meaningful conversation, such as in foreign language classrooms. Krashen argued that interference primarily occurs when one's knowledge of an L2 is insufficient, causing the speaker to rely on his L1.

Literacy

Reading and writing as acts of language. Cummins (2007) explored the connection between literacy and language when he defined CALP as "expertise in understanding and using literacy-related aspects of language" (p. 124). Language undergirds literacy. Reading and writing are part of the four domains of language, along with listening and speaking, yet they are often taught as if they were distinct from language. Clay (2004, 1991) and Holdaway (1979) claimed that listening and speaking are integral to literacy. As a child learns to read, she listens to herself read aloud to ensure that what she says makes sense and sounds grammatically correct (based on the learner's grammar) (Clay, 2001). Meaning is constructed through the process of understanding language, and, "the good reader manipulates language" to comprehend text, reinforcing the intimate connection between language proficiency and literacy (Clay, 1991, p. 321). Additionally, children learn to write using language they can say, and will often orally rehearse a sentence before and during the encoding process (Clay, 1991; Dyson, 1983).

The role of language in writing. Dyson (1983) posited that writing begins as representational, or "a form of drawing," and develops into "a form of language" as children learn to use letters and words to represent their message (p. 18). Early in the

writing process children draw and label objects, and also use oral language to talk about their text and share deeper meaning. Gradually, children learn to write their talk, and eventually their writing is standard enough to convey meaning to the reader independent of a verbal explanation from the author. Children continue to use oral language to rehearse their message, reread, and sound out words, until "Eventually, talk permeates the process, providing both meaning (representational function) and the means (directive function) for getting that meaning on paper" (p. 22). The role of language in writing is varied and complex, serving the purposes of meaning construction and support for encoding.

Dyson (1983) hypothesized the presence of three recursive components to the writing process for young children: message formulation, message encoding and mechanical formation. The child creates a message to write, considers how to write and spell it to the best of her current abilities, and forms the letters. (All three aspects of the process are not always present and may not be in this order.) The child may use oral language at any and all points in the process: to state the message orally, to consider how to write it or ask for help with spelling, and to talk themselves through the process of writing a letter ("down, up and around") (Clay, 1991; Dyson, 1983). The grammar an EL uses when speaking, whether correct or not, will likely be evidenced in her writing (e.g., "I ranned home"). Similarly, if she speaks with an accent or does not know how to pronounce an English word, her encoding will reflect her pronunciation (e.g., "da" or "du" for "the"). The teacher must choose how to react to these language-based "errors."

Reading and the construction of meaning. Language is central to reading development because meaning is constructed through language. If a student does not

understand the language used in a text, s/he will not understand the text even though s/he may be able to decode it. Kintsch (2005) defined reading as "active problem-solving" (p. 125), and Clay's (1991) definition is similar:

> I define reading as a message-getting, problem-solving activity which increases in power and flexibility the more it is practiced. My definition states that within the directional constraints of the visual code, language and visual perception responses are purposefully directed by the reader in some integrated way to the problem of extracting meaning from the cues in a text, in sequence, so that the reader brings a maximum of understanding to the author's message (p. 6).

Both Kintsch (2005) and Clay (1991) identified the problem-solving and meaning-making aspects of reading. A reader perceives text and then uses his/her background knowledge and language skills to construct meaning.

The construction of meaning involves many variables, including learner factors such as background knowledge and purpose for reading, and text factors, such as cohesion and genre (Kintsch & Kintsch, 2005). This can be a complex task for ELs, who may have different background knowledge than their teachers and peers, and who may not be familiar with the linguistic forms in English used to mark cohesion and genre to the reader. As a reader decodes text, she discovers many "propositions," usually at the phrase or sentence level (p. 72). Propositions are joined by cohesion markers (i.e., however, because) to help the reader bridge gaps and to determine the text's "microstructure" (p. 73). Cohesion markers are an example of how linguistic knowledge could impact comprehension. For example, if a reader does not know that "however" shifts the direction of an idea or sentence, or if the reader has trouble determining to what

a pronoun refers, comprehension will falter.

The process of perceiving and decoding text in reading is referred to as the bottom-up approach, as readers construct words and phrases from symbols on the page. Readers simultaneously use the top-down approach as they merge their schema with the text to create meaning (Kintsch, 2005). Kintsch referred to this as the "construction-integration model" of comprehension, as text propositions are constructed from the text and are integrated with reader-inferred propositions that align to create meaning (p. 126). Both top-down and bottom-up processes are important to comprehension.

Holdaway (1979) discussed the role of the top-down process in meaning construction when he stated, "Listeners or readers do not have the *meanings* poured into them – they are not conducted to them directly through the sounds in the air or from the marks on the paper; they *make* them from what is linguistically given in relationship to all that constitutes their *own* self-awareness" (italics in original, p. 153). Learners actively construct meaning based on what they read or hear, integrating it with their background knowledge or schema (Kintsch & Kintsch, 2005). When this is done, the learner constructs a "situation model – a mental model of the situation described by the text," resulting from the integration of the text and the reader's background knowledge and goals (p. 73). This is particularly difficult for students if the school does not value their background knowledge and language, as is often the case for ELs.

The process of understanding a text includes "self-regulation" whereby the learner monitors her reading to ensure that it makes sense and fits the grammatical and visual constraints of the text (Holdaway, 1979, p. 86; also Clay, 1991). This is the literacy version of Krashen's (1982) monitor hypothesis. In both self-regulation and the monitor

hypothesis students learn to regulate or monitor their listening, speaking, reading and writing. Holdaway (1979) explained that when communicating orally, the young learner can rely on another person's cues to help him monitor his speech and aural comprehension and fix it when necessary. In reading, however, the student must learn to monitor, regulate and correct himself based on the "reward" of comprehending the text (p. 86). This requires an instructional focus on meaning-making processes rather than decoding, which is a necessary but insufficient skill (Holdaway, 1979; Kintsch & Kintsch, 2005). However, if the focus of reading instruction is decoding rather than meaning-making, students may not learn how to self-monitor based on comprehension.

Moving Toward a "Self-extending System of Literacy Expertise" (Clay, 1991, p 317). As the process of self-regulation improves over time through thoughtful instruction and plentiful experience with both reading and writing text, children learn productive, efficient strategies to use with text. With practice, these strategies become flexible and integrated with the process of meaning-making, resulting in "generic learning, that is, learning which generates further learning." With practice on appropriate text, children learn to extend their network of problem-solving strategies, become familiar with more advanced language and evaluate decisions they make during reading and writing.

Clay (1991) believed this results in a "self-extending system of literacy expertise, as the act of reading expands the range and effectiveness of strategies which the reader can bring to the task, and the size of the practiced response repertoire upon which he can draw" (p. 317). The result is that the child improves their reading and writing skills every time they read and write, as productive, efficient strategies are practiced and internalized.

Might this self-extending system also apply to language acquisition? Clay (1991) noted that young children's questions sometimes require linguistically complex answers, introducing children to increasingly complex language structures and vocabulary. This may be one way that children begin to develop a self-extending system of language learning: Their questions allow them to hear new language in the form of comprehensible input from caregivers who are skilled at "fine-tuning" language for the child (Bruner, 1983, p. 38).

Summary

In summary, language supports the creation of meaning through reading, writing, listening and speaking. When students are aware of the reciprocal relationship between language and literacy they can use one to support the other. For example, they may orally rehearse a sentence before writing it, or use what they know about oral language to understand a text (Clay, 2004). The construction of meaning involves an interaction between the speaker or writer and the listener or reader, within a social context. This interaction constitutes the social nature of language, which is often forgotten during language instruction in schools. The content of the message and how it is communicated combine to create meaning for the audience. The complex relationship between language, literacy, pedagogy and culture should be considered by teachers as they plan for, deliver and assess instruction.

Delimitations and Limitations

The delimitations of this study include the linguistic and cultural isolation of the schools from white, middle class, standard English speakers. I intentionally chose a school district that has very high percentages of non-white students because that reflects

the reality of the schools ELs attend (Alim, 2005; García, Kleifgen & Falchi, 2008). The second and third delimitations are the number of teachers I studied and participant selection process. I selected a small sample which, while enabling me to spend many hours in each classroom collecting data, may not allow for generalization to other teachers (Creswell, 2009; Patton, 2002). The teachers I chose may not represent the average teacher: they are Latina and Spanish and three of the four are native Spanish speakers. Two of the teachers are relatively new to teaching, while the other two are highly experienced. The final delimitation is the duration of the study. I began collecting data in March and continued through the end of the school year. The three-month span provided me with sufficient data for the study, but being in the classrooms for the entire school year would have allowed me to observe change in instruction over time.

One limitation was a lack of assessment data for one of the teachers in this study, Inés. She had spent the two years prior to this study in Spain, her country of origin. Before her time in Spain, Inés had taught first grade at JAA —a non-testing grade— so I did not have access to student achievement data for Inés.

Significance of the Study

This study explored what teachers already do to support the acquisition of academic language in Spanish and English. I hope that the practices identified will be useful to teachers of language learners and to teacher educators. Additionally, I hope that the concepts that were essentially absent from instruction in this study – critical thinking, transfer and reciprocity – will make educators think more deeply about including them. To achieve this, teachers will need to build on students' strengths in their home language and other language areas and ensure grade-appropriate, standards-based rigor even when,

or particularly when, language needs to be scaffolded. This study may serve as a foundation for future research that could ultimately inform teacher preparation programs and curriculum development in both English and Spanish.

In addition, this study explored some aspects of school context and culture that impact student learning. For example, under the pressure of No Child Left Behind (NCLB) mandates and budget cuts, mistrust developed between administration and teachers. Teachers did not trust that administrators, under pressure to raise test scores and reduce costs, would base decisions on what was best for students. As a result, teachers did what they thought was best for students, choosing not to involve administrators in decisions or directly (yet discretely) defying administrators' mandates. Individual teacher decision-making resulted in a lack of a coherent "program" in the DI program. It also evidenced bold acts of teacher agency, as teachers made well-intentioned decisions based on what they knew, or thought they knew, about teaching and learning in DI programs, regardless of what they were told to do. Teachers acted as advocates for students' rights to first language maintenance and second language proficiency.

Definition of Terms

Academic English is the register of English required for success in schools for the purposes of this paper. It is operationalized as the ability to comprehend instruction, "extract meaning from written text, and to argue a point both verbally and in writing" (Suárez-Orozco, et al., 2008, p. 41).

Academic language proficiency is "the degree to which an individual has access to and expertise in understanding and using the specific kind of language that is

employed in educational contexts and is required to complete academic tasks" (Cummins, 2007, p. 122).

Academic success is defined by both grade point average (GPA) and achievement test scores (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008).

Bilingual education is a broad term that includes many different ways two or more languages may be used in an educational setting (Hakuta, 2011).

Critical thinking is defined as, "The intellectually disciplined process of actively and skillfully conceptualizing, applying, analyzing, synthesizing, and/or evaluating information gathered from, or generated by, observation, experience, reflection, reasoning, or communication, as a guide to belief and action" (Housset Fonseca & Maloof Avendaño, 2009, p. 38-39, citing Paul and Scriven's (2007) book, *The Critical Thinking Community*.

Dual Immersion or *Dual Language programs* have the goals of bilingualism and biliteracy and theoretically should not value one language over another (Potowski, 2004). This study is using a 90/10 model of dual language instruction.

English learner (EL) is defined as non-native English speakers, or speakers of non-standard, "stigmatized" registers of English (Godley & Minnici, 2008, p. 321).

Reciprocity is concerned with the relationship among reading, writing, listening and speaking and how knowledge in one or more of those areas facilitates learning in the others (Clay, 2004).

School literacy is defined as the literacy skills required for success in K-12 schools. This is intentionally a narrow, traditional definition of literacy to distinguish it from broader literacies (i.e., Gee, 2001; Street, 2001, 2003).

Transfer occurs when skills and knowledge learned in one language are appropriately used in a second language (L2) to facilitate learning in the L2 (Goldenberg, 2008).

Summary

In U.S. public schools ELs are typically segregated from English speakers (Alim, 2005; García, Kleifgen & Falchi, 2008; Gifford & Valdés, 2006) and are significantly underperforming compared with their native English-speaking peers (National Center for Educational Statistics, 2009). However, DI programs have been found to improve ELs' achievement as compared to ELs in English-only programs (Lindholm-Leary, 2001). Therefore, I explored what DI teachers do to support ELs' acquisition of academic language in Spanish and English. While this topic is currently in its infancy, I hope that this study will inspire further research that will ultimately affect teacher preparation programs and curriculum development in order to better support ELs' acquisition of academic language in Spanish and English.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

This review of the literature begins with a discussion of bilingualism and factors that influence bilingualism, such as country of origin and socioeconomic status. It then explores research on dual immersion (DI) programs, including program goals, language equity issues and outcomes for different groups of students, which show that ELs in DI programs have higher academic achievement than those in English-only classes. The concepts of transfer between languages and reciprocity among the language domains of reading, writing, listening and speaking are discussed as possible reasons for the more equitable outcomes. Issues of academic language in both Spanish and English are investigated from teachers' and students' perspectives, and the concept of academic language is problematized, as many ELs have limited access to academic language models. Finally, studies showing the impact of academic language on reading, writing, listening and speaking are reviewed to prove the centrality of language to academic tasks. Questions linger regarding how DI teachers foster academic language development –in Spanish or English– in ELs in linguistically segregated environments, and how transfer and reciprocity support students' learning in those environments.

Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, and Todorova (2008) found that Latino immigrant students typically attend "the worst schools America has to offer" and tend to seek refuge in the schools' bilingual programs, where too often a lack of rigor is as pervasive as the lack of resources and access to native English speakers (p. 143). Given the sub-standard schooling opportunities ELs encounter and their need to learn academic language, this study seeks to create a framework that educators can use to provide

instruction to better meet ELs' linguistic and academic needs in the context of the U.S. While many factors influence ELs' academic success, teachers need help answering the question, "What can I do?"

Bilingualism in the U.S.

Bilingual students and non-standard English speakers may have mastery of their home language, whether a different language or a dialect of English. In school they add the additional language or register of academic English to their repertoire. Yet many schools tell ELs they are not proficient or literate enough to participate in mainstream classes or to experience other privileges belonging to mainstream, middle class English speakers. For example, EL students may be assigned to a second period of Language Arts rather than music or art. Takahashi-Breines (2002) wrote, "We live in a society in which English, therefore the mainstream American culture, is perceived as the language / culture of power" (p. 480). Bilingualism or multilingualism should be a goal that students aspire to rather than a detriment to their perceived ability. However Valdés, Brookes and Chávez (2003) showed that this is not the case, stating that for many educators, "Bilingual is considered the polite or even politically correct term with which to refer to children who are poor, disadvantaged and newly arrived [to the country]" (p. 35). The need for a euphemism for EL students shows the inherent bias of those who use it. (Why the need for a politically correct term if other terms are not derogatory or biased in some way?) Instead of a euphemism masking race and class, bilingualism should be perceived as a positive attribute so that students understand its value and educators acknowledge, respect and build on students' linguistic strengths while bridging them to academic English.

Definitions of Bilingualism and Influencing Factors

Valdés et al. (2003) defined bilingualism along two independent continua of language proficiency that may develop together or separately as the two languages are acquired. The visual of continua implies a range of proficiency in each language. The continua are not one-directional: Not using a language may result in loss of that language, if only temporarily.

Researchers have found it helpful to differentiate between elective bilingualism, in which members of privileged groups take on the study of a new language, and circumstantial or natural bilingualism, in which members of non-dominant groups learn the dominant language (Valdés et al., 2003). Elective bilinguals choose to learn a second language, while circumstantial bilinguals must learn a second language due to their situation as a linguistic minority in the host country (Hakuta, 2011; Valdés, 2003 et al.). As newcomers to a country, circumstantial bilinguals often lack economic, social and political clout, and many factors influence how well they learn languages. Valdés et al. (2003) explained:

> Children acquire their two languages within the context of the immigrant community of which they are a part. Their acquisition of English depends both on the nature of the community in which they settle and on the amount of exposure they have to English in their everyday lives (p. 41).

Therefore, students who are segregated from speakers of standard English are at a disadvantage, and most ELs are in fact segregated in their schools and communities (Alim, 2005; García, Kleifgen, & Falchi, 2008; Valdés et al., 2003). While immigrant children may be introduced to many registers in their home language, typically their only

opportunity to interact with native English speakers is at school with teachers (Valdés et al., 2003; Valdés et al., 2011).

ELs' school options are significantly impacted by socioeconomic status (SES), as are the perceptions of bilingualism and the prevalence of bilingualism in a community. High SES correlates with high levels of bilingualism and a greater respect for it, while low SES correlates with low levels of bilingualism and less appreciation for it (Portes & Hao, 1998). It should be noted that the perspective of bilingualism as a detriment is limited to low socioeconomic students who are usually circumstantial bilinguals (Valdés, et al., 2003). Even when EL students achieve proficiency in English as well as their home language, bilingualism is not lauded. For example, Valdés (1997) wrote, "For minority children, the acquisition of English is expected. For mainstream children, the acquisition of a non-English language is enthusiastically applauded" (p. 417). The discrepancy in the perception of the bilingualism of students of mainstream backgrounds versus other backgrounds shows that more is at play than the concept of bilingualism itself. Who is bilingual and in which languages does matter, as well as where the student grew up, which school she attended, and which language is spoken at home. All these factors play into collective, societal attitudes toward the value of bilingualism.

It is common for second-generation students to prefer English to their native language, resulting in rapid loss of the home language (Portes & Hao, 1998). Olsen (2000) attributed this to the desire to be "American," defined as English speaking. Similarly Ricento (2005) pointed out the role of English as an important factor in the "Americanization movement" (p. 352). English became the language of patriotism and national identity in the U.S., while other languages were anti-American.

Some ethnic groups tend to maintain their language better than others. Despite a preference for English, Portes and Hao (1998) found that Mexicans and some Nicaraguans promote Spanish but do not develop English. School context and nationality also affect bilingualism: schools with high percentages of Latinos promote speaking Spanish, but schools with high percentages of Asians promote English (Portes & Hao, 1998). Typically, the role of most U.S. schools is to ensure English fluency, often resulting in the loss of the home language, regardless of whether or not students achieve proficiency in academic English (Olsen, 2000). Torres-Guzman and Etxeberría (2005) reminded us that in the U.S., public schooling "has historically and politically been connected to immigration and the integration of immigrants into a predominant English-speaking environment" (p. 514). If, as Torres-Guzman and Etxeberría stated, integration into an English-speaking society is the goal of U.S. public schools, educators should think critically about their role in the linguistic acculturation process and enable students to choose when to conform (linguistically and otherwise), when not to, and when to thoughtfully and conscientiously rebel against or subvert linguistic hegemony.

Dual Immersion Programs

The goals of DI programs, also called dual language programs, are bilingualism and biliteracy. Theoretically DI programs should not value one language over another (Potowski, 2004). For the purposes of this study I limit the scope to domestic Spanish-English programs and refer to the 90/10 DI model because it has resulted in the most equitable outcomes of any bilingual model (Lindholm-Leary, 2001). In a 90/10 model students are immersed in the minority language for 90 percent of the day and spend the rest of the day learning in the majority language. This starts in kindergarten, with the

amount of time in the majority language increasing each year until 50 percent is reached in the upper elementary years. The 90/10 model calls for the class to be composed of 50 percent native Spanish speakers and 50 percent native English speakers, or one-third of each language group and one-third bilingual students. While the research site for this study calls itself a DI school, it operates in a linguistically isolated, segregated community and therefore does not enroll many native English speakers. Each class of 24 students typically has zero to two native English speakers, and most of those students are not speakers of standard English. The lack of native English speakers should be taken into account when considering how the research on DI programs relates to this study.

Goals of DI Programs

Skutnabb-Kangas (2007) stated that one of the "**basic linguistic human rights** of persons belonging to minorities" should be to achieve high levels of bilingualism through education, as education can be an effective change agent (p. 137, bold in original). She also pointed out that parents of ELs pay taxes which are spent on schools in ways that may be linguistically subtractive to their children. Students implicitly learn that English is the language of power, resulting in home language loss by the second or third generation. In contrast, DI programs provide an additive model with the goals of biliteracy and bilingualism (Lindholm-Leary, 2001; Quintanar-Sarellana, 2004; Torres-Guzmán & Etxeberría, 2005).

However, it is questionable whether the goals are the same for native English speakers and native Spanish speakers. Since English is the language of school and power in the U.S., it is important for native Spanish speakers to achieve a high level of English proficiency. But English speakers' goals for learning Spanish in DI programs remain

unclear. High-stakes exams are typically not administered in Spanish, and native English speakers may have little reason to use the language outside of the classroom. Native English speaking students in DI programs are perceived as enriched by a foreign language, while native Spanish speakers simply meet minimal requirements when they emerge from a DI program bilingual and biliterate (Valdés, 1997). The goals for the two groups of students may be different: heritage language maintenance and English acquisition for the native Spanish speakers, and enrichment for native English speakers. If the goals for the two groups of students are different, it is likely that the dominant group's needs will be met before the ELs' needs, as Valdés (1997) reminded us that white, middle-class parents hold significant power in schools.

In fact, Valdés (1997), Lindholm-Leary (2001) and de Jong and Howard (2009) expressed concern that native Spanish speaking students' needs are not met in DI classrooms during either English or Spanish instruction. They argued that English instruction is not sufficiently scaffolded for English learners, and Spanish instruction is "impoverished" for the sake of easy accessibility for native English speakers (de Jong and Howard, 2009, p. 10). De Jong and Howard (2009) stated:

> Studies have shown that the linguistic modifications necessary to provide a meaningful immersion experience may lead to differences in curriculum expectations, limited opportunities for extended language use, and less exposure to rich and complex language when the language of instruction is the minority language (p. 9).

They argued that during Spanish instruction, academic Spanish is sacrificed for the sake of the English-speaking students.

Language is taught differently to those who speak it as a mother tongue versus those who are learning it in an academic setting (de Jong and Howard, 2009; Valdés, 1997). Due to the socio-cultural and linguistic realities of the U.S., the majority students are likely to be better served by the schools than EL students. Valdés (1997) cited mainstream parents as one reason for this, claiming that they have the clout to intervene if they think an instructional program sacrificed the level of academic language in the classroom.

Language Equity

It has been well documented that dual immersion students in the U.S. quickly learn that English is the language of power, and this cultural knowledge affects their bilingual and bicultural education (Lindholm-Leary, 2001; Potowski, 2004; Takahashi-Breines, 2002; Torres-Guzmán & Etxeberría, 2005). Potowski (2004) referred to the "leakage" of language status into DI programs, impacting students' perceptions of the languages, their peers and themselves (p. 79). Ballinger and Lyster (2011) found that this perception might stem from the DI teachers' ambivalent attitude toward the use of Spanish. In fact, the most successful DI programs have occurred in Europe where both languages enjoy high prestige (Bialystok, 2001).

Valdés (1997) warned that DI programs may not best serve EL students and may ultimately be more beneficial for the majority students unless the DI program is flawlessly planned and implemented. Ballinger and Lyster (2011) found this to be the case, as the Spanish L1 (first language) and bilingual students in their study used Spanish when speaking with each other or with their teachers, but rarely when an English L1 student was present. They concluded that their findings supported Valdes' (1997) caution

that DI classrooms would accommodate the needs of the monolingual English students.

Valdés (1997) also reminded us that DI programs are essentially the result of a language planning policy, and are thus inherently political. She wrote, "Language policy is a mechanism that can either support or oppose existing hierarchies of power. Moreover, language planning, because its focus is on language, is never neutral" (p. 413). The power relations between the languages and the groups of people for whom each language is a mother tongue complicate the implementation of DI programs. When the intricacies of DI programs are not thoroughly considered, it is easy for teachers' and administrators' linguistic behaviors to reflect the dominance of English. Students quickly perceive this and when they do, the importance of learning Spanish – and the status of the Spanish language – is diminished (Ballinger & Lyster, 2011; Lindholm-Leary, 2001; Potowski, 2004; Takahashi-Breines, 2002).

The power and status that different languages hold are exhibited in both obvious and subtle ways and can interfere with equity-related goals of a DI program. Although language equity is often an explicit goal of DI programs, this goal is often not achieved due to sociopolitical realities (de Jong & Howard, 2009). Citing the asymmetry between the Spanish and English languages that is reflected in resource allocation, accountability systems, teacher requirements, and overall language use at the school, de Jong and Howard (2009) concluded, "The resulting unequal learning opportunities in the two languages compromise opportunities to achieve the goals of bilingualism and biliteracy" (p. 8). The social, economic and political context in which the DI program is situated interferes with the program's goal of academic success for all students. Valdés (1997) stated:

> For us to succeed as educators in a context where deep racial and linguistic divisions are present, we must do more than simply wish these differences away. In implementing dual-language immersion programs, there must be sensitivity to the realities of intergroup relations in the communities surrounding schools to the fact that teachers are products of the society with all of its shortcomings, and to the fact that mainstream and minority children live in very different worlds (p. 419).

Simply placing native Spanish-speaking students in the same classroom as native English speakers will not eliminate the inequitable intergroup relations outside the classroom. In fact, unless significant, well-planned steps are taken to address the power imbalance between the languages and the students who speak them natively, DI programs can simply replicate the mainstream cultural status quo.

Language shift. The implications of linguistic hegemony are seen throughout the literature on domestic DI programs in the subordination of Spanish to English (Lindholm-Leary, 2001; Lindholm-Leary & Block, 2010; Potowski, 2004; Rubinstein-Avila, 2002; Takahashi-Breines, 2002). In their desire to speak the dominant language, people move away from their mother tongue and language shift occurs. Within a span of two to three generations, languages can be lost (Hornberger, 2007; Suarez, 2002). In the U.S. and in other parts of the world language shift and eventual language loss has been evidenced due to unequal power relations among languages and their speakers. Hornberger (2007) reminded us that an alarming portion of the world's languages are endangered. Heritage language maintenance for native Spanish speakers in DI programs would be a logical and necessary goal based on what we know about linguistic hegemony and language shift.

Much of the research of domestic DI programs shows that both teachers and students shift toward English (and away from Spanish). For example, Potowski (2004) found that teachers "routinely" used English during Spanish instructional time, inflating the perceived importance of English and forsaking Spanish (p. 70). Similarly, students spoke English to each other 68 percent of the time, and most instances of Spanish appeared not to carry out an authentic communicative function. Potowski (2004) also noted that it was equally unlikely for native Spanish speakers and native English speakers to use Spanish in a DI program. Similarly, Ballinger and Lyster (2011) concluded that native Spanish speakers in their study "appeared to be hiding their Spanish use" (p. 302). Potowski (2004) explained this phenomenon via linguistic hegemony and wrote, "It may also be the case that some bilingual Latino students, in an attempt to conform to mainstream society's language expectations and to their classmates' language use, assert their English competence by using it as often as possible" (p. 82). Since English is the language that is valued in our society, the Spanish-speaking students chose to show their language prowess in English, even though their use of Spanish would likely be significantly better than that of their English-speaking peers.

Genesee, Lindholm-Leary, Saunders and Christian (2006), on the other hand, claimed that students tend to use the dominant language of instruction. In a 90/10 dual immersion program Spanish is the dominant language of instruction until fourth or fifth grade, when the instruction levels off at 50 percent in each language, indicating that students would choose Spanish at least up through fourth grade. This contradicts Potowski's (2004) and Ballinger and Lyster's (2011) studies which showed that students used English, the language of power, even when it was their weaker language.

The question of why EL students might choose English over their native language is partly explained through the concept of identity in a linguistically hegemonic society. Peer interactions locate students in a social hierarchy, therefore fluency in English would increase one's standing in a society that appreciates English above all languages (Potowski, 2004). Language and identity are intricately linked: Language choice is a primary way of expressing one's identity and solidarity. Potowski's (2004) research confirmed that language learning is a complex social practice that affects personal identities as well as broader, cultural practices:

> No matter how well-run a language program is, if students' identity investments compete with their investments in developing the target language, or if the classroom environment denies them opportunities to participate in ways that are acceptable to them, their target language growth will not be as great as educators might hope ... If heritage speakers in dual immersion are to maintain their Spanish language skills to a sufficient degree for them to transmit the language to their own future children, this study suggests that they need to be encouraged to cultivate strong investment in identities as Spanish speakers (pp. 95-96).

Identities are created within the norms of a society and may reflect those norms, beliefs and values. If Spanish as a language is not valued, native Spanish speakers may choose not to identify with their native tongue. Therefore it is necessary for DI programs to include specific goals for Spanish language use in order to counteract some of the cultural and linguistic hegemony that works against Spanish. For example, the school community should be diglossic, where each language is necessary to communicate at different times or in different classes, because bilingualism without diglossia tends to be

temporary, with one language eventually fading away without a specific purpose (Fishman, 1967). The end goal is to emphasize to students that both languages are highly valued and highly valuable.

Suarez (2002) claimed that bilingualism represents an act of resistance against linguistic hegemony. Learning English is necessary to succeed within society's confines, but systematic maintenance of Spanish would serve to undermine the status quo and enrich lives academically, culturally and linguistically. In this way Suarez makes a very strong argument for the explicit goal of language maintenance in DI programs. If the importance of Spanish can be increased in DI programs, the programs could serve as vehicles to maintain the heritage language and cultural identity of a large group of people facing linguistic and cultural hegemony daily. Until larger issues of race, immigration and language use are addressed at the societal level, these issues will continue to invade DI classrooms.

Outcomes of Dual Immersion Programs

Despite the issues of language equity and unclear goals of U.S. DI programs, a significant amount of research has evidenced the model's success, specifically for low socio-economic status EL students. Lindholm-Leary and Block (2010) claimed that the DI data consistently closes the equity gap. They wrote, "Hispanic students participating in dual language programs in predominantly Hispanic/low SES schools achieve at similar or higher levels compared to their mainstream peers in tests of English. In addition, students achieve above grade level in assessments in Spanish" (p. 43). Verde Peleato (2011) found similar results, with 94 percent of students in the DI program she studied scoring proficient in English language arts and 97 percent in math. This would point to

unparalleled success of the DI model for the Latino students.

Other researchers, however, contest the success of the DI model and the equity it claims to foster. For example, Amrein (2000) argued that Spanish speakers are consistently underserved as compared to their English-speaking and bilingual peers. The outcomes for native English speakers also vary. While Quintanar-Sarellana (2004) and Lindholm-Leary (2001) saw significant language growth for all students in their studies, McCollum (1999) found that Anglo students "were unable to construct simple sentences with subject-verb agreement" in Spanish (p. 120). He attributed this to the fact that English speakers may not have many opportunities outside of school to speak the target language.

Lindholm-Leary (2001) reported that Latino Spanish-speakers in DI programs reported the poorest grades (mostly B/C/Ds) and European American students reported the highest (mostly As or A/Bs), especially in language arts and social studies. This finding is supported by Rubenstein-Avila's (2003) case study which found that DI programs "have not eliminated the gap between majority and minority students; majority students (mostly white and middle class) are the ones to profit the most from such programmes" (pp. 86-87). However, Lindholm-Leary and Hernández (2011) found that students who exhibit enough English proficiency to be reclassified as English proficient "close the achievement gap with native English speakers" (p. 531). Therefore, the level of English proficiency achieved may be an important factor in ELs' academic success. Jackson Avenue Elementary had only a six percent EL reclassification rate in 2011 (California Department of Education, 2011).

Success, however, seems to be relative. While ELs are not achieving grades equal to the native English speakers, they are performing better than ELs in English-only classes (Lindholm-Leary, 2001; Lindholm-Leary & Hernández, 2011). Both groups of students do as well as or better than their peers in English-only classes on standardized tests in English (Lindholm-Leary, 2001; Thomas & Collier, 2002). Each group of students was shown to perform better on tests in their own native language (Howard, 2003). In the post-NCLB environment, however, the English tests are the only ones that count. The Spanish speakers' strength – their native language – is simply not valued as highly as English, which in turn affects how their achievement is assessed and thus perceived. Bikle, Billings and Hakuta (2004) summarized:

> Although there is still a considerable achievement gap between the majority and minority language populations in TWI [two-way immersion] programs in the U.S., English learners in TWI programs do tend to outperform their peers in other programs . . . what is clear from a review of the literature on academic outcomes is that two-way programs are, in general, a successful approach for both language groups (pp. 595-596).

One concern is that mainstream students have proven to be successful in other settings, but in contrast, native Spanish speakers have not, even in settings where their native language is used in the classroom. Researchers have not yet determined why ELs perform better in 90/10 DI programs than in other programs, but better teachers and access to English-speaking peers have been suggested as possible reasons.

Researchers also argue that DI programs positively affect students' views on school and college. Although all of the students' attitudes toward the two-way program

were very positive in Lindholm-Leary's (2001) study, the program seemed to be particularly beneficial to the attitudes of Latino students. She wrote, "one third of Hispanic English speakers and almost one half of Hispanic Spanish speakers, feel that their participation in the two-way program has kept them from dropping out of school" (p. 4). Additionally, Latino students believed that the DI program challenged them academically and gave them a better education than they might otherwise have had. Latino EL students in the study were more likely than their peers to want to go to college immediately following high school. Ninety-three percent of the Latino students in Lindholm-Leary's study stated that they wanted a college degree, compared to 75% of the European American students. Since both those numbers are high compared to the national average of people who actually graduate from college, Lindholm-Leary concluded that the students' participation in the DI program had a positive impact on their outlook on their educational and career prospects. In fact, almost all students felt that being bilingual would help them get a better job.

Finally, Howard, Sugarman and Christian (2003), Bikle (2004), Lindholm-Leary (2001) and Lindholm-Leary and Borsato (2002) wrote about the psychological and self-esteem benefits that DI participants seemed to share. They attribute this to an environment that is more accepting of different cultures and ethnic backgrounds. Lindholm-Leary and Borsato (2002) explained:

> The results point to the development of a sense of resiliency among Hispanic students, particularly those learning English and those from low-income families. These students appear to possess high self-esteem, motivation to study hard, belief in academic competence, perception of a positive school environment, a

> supportive family, and a peer group that values education-characteristics that have been identified with resilient and successful students, that is, those living in adversity or from high-risk environments but who are well adjusted and achieve academic success (p. 5).

Students who might otherwise struggle in school seem to prosper in a well-implemented DI program.

Transfer

One of the ways that DI programs have been shown to support ELs is through the concept of transfer. Skills and knowledge learned in one language can transfer to the other allowing for ease of learning in the second language (Goldenberg, 2008). Genesee et al. (2006) referred to this as a "bilingual reservoir that serves both L1 and L2 literacy" (p. 82). However, transfer is not typically used in DI programs, as a core principle of the DI model has been the "two solitudes" method, or complete separation of the two languages during instruction (Cummins, 2008, p. 65). Cummins posited that this tradition has a limited research basis and argued for the purposeful use of students' L1 where it can support L2 acquisition through cross-language transfer.

Cummins' (2008) theoretical basis for this claim is the role of pre-existing knowledge as a foundation for learning, along with his own work on the interdependence hypothesis (1981). The interdependence hypothesis states that when academic language is developed in an L1, it will transfer to the L2 under the appropriate conditions (Cummins, 2001). Regarding the role of prior knowledge, Cummins (2008) argued that if students' prior knowledge is encoded in their L1, then students' "L1 is inevitably implicated in the learning of L2" (p. 67). For example, if a student knows what a pencil is,

s/he needs to learn its English word, but not its concept or purpose. The student may call the pencil something else, but her L1 prior knowledge allows her to bypass learning anything new about the pencil other than its English name.

Transfer of reading skills between some languages, including Spanish and English, is well documented. In a synthesis of the research, Genesee, et al. (2006) concluded that L1 literacy "contributes to and supports" the development of L2 literacy (p. 81). Stronger L2 readers and writers use similar strategies in both languages, capitalizing on their ability to transfer skills from their L1 to their L2. Similarly, in a quantitative study of second and third grade English learners in transitional bilingual classes, Laija-Rodríguez, Ochoa and Parker (2006) concluded, "The best predictor of L2 reading growth was primary language development" (p. 103). Learning to read in one's primary language is one of the strategies Goldenberg (2008) has recommended for use with ELs in order to improve their English reading. However, Goldenberg (2008) and Cummins (2007) warned educators that transfer may not occur automatically: Students may need to be explicitly taught that what they know in their first language is applicable to their second language.

Cummins (2008) cited five specific types of transfer that might be possible in a given sociolinguistic context. The first is transfer of conceptual elements. Once concepts such as democracy or photosynthesis are learned in one language, they are known. The concepts do not change in a second language. Only the vocabulary and the language structures required to communicate the concepts are different. The second type is transfer of metacognitive and metalinguistic strategies. Comprehension strategies, for example, can be used in multiple languages once learned. The third is transfer of pragmatics, such

as turn-taking in conversation or the use of gestures to supplement oral communication. Fourth is the transfer of specific linguistic elements, which includes cognates. For example, Lubliner and Hiebert (2011) found that academic vocabulary transfers between Spanish and English in the form of cognates. Of course, students must know the word and its meaning in their L1 for the cognate to help them in their second language (L2). DI programs provide the academic language in Spanish so that students will be able to transfer their knowledge to English. Finally, the transfer of phonological awareness, or the knowledge that words are comprised of sounds, is also transferable from one language to another.

DI programs take the concept of transfer one step further by valuing literacy in the first language for its own sake. With bilingualism and biliteracy as primary goals of dual immersion programs, it would be appropriate for educators to use students' linguistic strengths as a bridge to their less-dominant language.

Academic Language

Academic language is a contested concept with many surrounding controversies. First, there is no agreed-upon definition, nor a methodical way to distinguish academic language from standard English (Wong Fillmore & Snow, 2000). Some define academic English as the register required for success in school (Valdés et al., 2011; Suárez Orozco et al., 2008). Goldenberg (2008) defined it as the ability to relate series of events, make comparisons, justify choices, understand and use content vocabulary appropriately, and know multiple meanings and shades of meanings of words. Alvarez (2011) defined it as the ability to use language to participate in the learning process and argued that it is "fundamentally embedded in social practice" (p. 182-183). Academic language can be

operationalized as the ability to comprehend instruction, "extract meaning from written text, and to argue a point both verbally and in writing" (Suárez-Orozco, et al., 2008, p. 41). In this study I will explore the participants' perspectives on academic language and how their perspectives impact instruction in Spanish and English.

Valdés (2004) pointed out that the communities of educators in ESL (k-12), TESOL, bilingual education, and mainstream English classes do not share a common definition of academic English. Despite this fact, schools maintain certain language requirements that can prevent them from being in advanced classes and even from graduating. Unclear language requirements interfere with EL students' academic success (Valdés, et al., 2005). We hold ELs to high levels of academic English without defining it, and possibly without understanding it ourselves.

Second, in addition to lacking a shared understanding of academic language, scholars also debate the desired outcomes for ELs. For example, should ELs speak and write like monolingual students? Valdés, et al., (2011) and Alvarez (2011) argued that educators often hold ELs to inappropriate monolingual norms instead of acknowledging their strengths as bilinguals. In addition, the misconception that ELs should acquire native-like speech "creates confusion between the language proficiency needed to achieve academically and language that displays nativelike control of specific structures and conventions," resulting in deficit views of students' abilities (Valdés, et al., 2011, p. 198). Finally, requiring error-free language excludes ELs from being validated and self-identifying as academic speakers and writers (Alvarez, 2011). Valdés (2004) argued that educators should view language within the broader context of economics, class and power, but typically they fail to do so. As a result, academic language is perceived as

correctness rather than as a way to communicate complex ideas in multiple languages (Valdés, 2004). As Bruner (1983) reminded us, "The 'rules' of language use are only lightly specified by the rules of grammar. Well-formedness does not make utterances either effective or appropriate or felicitous" (p. 119).

In linguistically hyper-segregated environments (Valdés, et al., 2011), such as the school site in this study, there may be few, or no, monolingual speakers for comparison. Alvarez (2011) questioned, "Are these classes not considered academic contexts because they are populated with English Learners?" (p. 18). ELs in hyper-segregated schools have limited access to native English speakers, tend to speak Spanish to each other socially in school, hear and speak primarily Spanish in their communities, and may only speak English with the teacher or when called on in class (Valdés, et al., 2011).

Third, researchers and educators also do not agree on the value of teaching academic language (Valdés, 2004). Valdés stated, "Hegemonic voices argue for teaching the standard language to the underprivileged, while counter-hegemonic voices argue that insisting on the standard will only continue to maintain the position of the powerful who already speak the privileged variety of the language" (p. 106). From a practical perspective, students need to learn to linguistically navigate the world as it is, and academic English is necessary for academic achievement in school. For example, the register most commonly required in classrooms is very specific, and students should be able to easily switch among the classroom register, an informal register than they use with their friends and a more formal register for speaking to the school principal.

Both Aukerman (2007) and Alvarez (2011) reconceptualized academic language in a broader social context, albeit in different ways. Aukerman (2007) sought to

recontextualize the academic environment to build on what students already know and can do linguistically. Instead of asking students to "adapt to the existing language of the school," she asked teachers to better match their instruction to children's linguistic strengths and identify contexts in which the language would be comprehensible to the student (p. 630). I suggest that teachers use students' language to bridge to the language of school, because, until a major societal shift occurs, the ability to use the dominant register continues to be an important tool in students' tool belts. The concept of building on students' strengths is key for all children, but especially for ELs whose repertoire of strengths is less likely to be recognized in an English-only classroom.

Alvarez (2011) took the concept of academic language as a social practice one step further:

> I conceive of academic language as fundamentally embedded in social practice. That is, to assess students' development in academic language, one first needs to consider the practice for which they are using language and to what extent they are able to use language as a tool to successfully participate in that academic practice (pp. 182-183).

This broad definition is inclusive of different registers and languages. Its flexibility gives teachers permission to accept where students are in the language learning process and consider how to advance their language. Finally, using this definition allows educators to determine if a student is using academic language by considering the level at which s/he is participating in the learning process, which is the ultimate goal.

Learning is a social process that occurs within the learner's intellectual environment (Vygotsky, 1978). Purposeful academic talk supports both language

learning and content learning. This is particularly true for ELs who must learn English along with the content. Alvarez (2011) referred to this as the "dual nature of developing competence with academic registers: developing both conceptual understandings and the linguistic abilities with which to comprehend and articulate these concepts" (p. 11). Since ELs must simultaneously process the language and content, helping them to contextualize it, as Aukland (2007) recommended, is one way to ease their academic burden.

Spanish Academic Language

Valdés and Geoffrion-Vinci (1998) noted that many non-middle class Chicano university students arrive at college without a fully developed academic register in English or Spanish. In a study that compared the use of the academic Spanish between two groups of native Spanish speakers, the researchers found that students schooled in Mexico had significantly superior academic Spanish compared to the Chicano students who attended school in the U.S. The researchers attributed this discrepancy to two factors. First, as the prestige language in the U.S. English is used in most formal, academic contexts, while Spanish is used in those contexts in Mexico. Second, the Chicano students' less prestigious, non-academic register of Spanish may be due to their low socioeconomic status in the U.S. and they may lack opportunities to use academic Spanish in U.S. schools. Interestingly, however, the authors concluded that both the Mexican nationals and the Chicano students "appear to use an 'approximative' academic register that is still clearly in a state of development" (p. 473). While the Mexican nationals had superior Spanish language skills, both sets of students were considered to be learners of academic Spanish. While students were fluent in one or both languages, their academic registers were at different points of development.

Valdés and Geoffrion-Vinci (1998) described an academic register, in both Spanish and English, as being "characterized by a greater use of clause embedding than in other registers, a high ratio of nominal arguments to verbs, and an elaborate use of grammatical morphology, whereas low registers tend to involve a reduced range of lexical and syntactic alternatives" (p. 474). While the focus of this study was on oral production, an academic register must be comprehended via reading and listening, and produced in speech and writing. Referring to users of academic language, the authors wrote, "Oral language reflects the hyperliteracy of its speakers," acknowledging the relationship between academic language and literacy (p. 474). One implication of this statement is that a lack of access to complex texts may inhibit the development of academic language. Another is that the dichotomy that has been created by the field of second language acquisition between academic language and conversational language is indeed false, as Valdés, et al. suggested (2011). Students need to be able to "perform" in a classroom, both orally and in writing, to show evidence of learning.

In order to show evidence of learning in Spanish, Potowski (2007) assessed the speaking, reading and writing skills of eighth grade students about to graduate from a DI program. She found that native Spanish speakers used more complex grammatical structures and scored significantly higher on Spanish oral, reading and writing assessments than did their native English-speaking peers. Both groups of students were found to have oral communicative competence in Spanish, but the native English speakers performed "relatively poor[ly]" on grammatical and pragmatic tasks, considering they had spent nine years in the DI program (p. 207). As a result, Potowski expressed concern about the pedagogy used in the DI program, and her critique would

also apply to English instruction for native Spanish speakers. She questioned the type of input that students received, the amount and quality of output they were asked to produce, and how feedback on that output was given. She also noted that DI teachers tended to be held accountable for content rather than language, so language might not have been a focal point.

One factor that Potowski (2007) did not mention, however, was the possibility that the DI teachers were not sufficiently proficient in Spanish to serve as language models. For students to learn sophisticated, academic Spanish, teachers must model that type of language. However, Guerrero (2003) found that bilingual teachers in a pre-service program in the U.S. had limited opportunities to practice academic Spanish and were concerned with their ability to use it effectively in a classroom. Few classes, assignments or readings were in Spanish, and teachers felt that they did not have the requisite level of language sophistication or content vocabulary needed. He concluded, "In sum, bilingual education teachers educated primarily in the U.S. are unlikely to have the kind of linguistic access they need to develop their Spanish-language academic proficiency. With each successive year of K-12 schooling, opportunities to develop academic Spanish-language proficiency essentially decrease" (p. 652). In fact, only 17 states require Spanish proficiency for bilingual teachers, and the assessments vary greatly by state. All four of the "bilingual" participants in Guerrero's (2003) study had limited exposure to academic Spanish, lamented a lack of opportunities to develop it, and were concerned about their ability to both teach it and teach using it.

Similarly, Lindholm-Leary (2001) found that over 70 percent of DI teachers were native English speakers with great variation in their Spanish language skills, and almost

10 percent self-reported minimal communicative competence in Spanish. Additionally, the grammatical structures and complexity teachers used during Spanish instruction lacked variety and were very basic. Only 19 percent of teacher utterances were complex phrases with more than one clause. Students were rarely given the opportunity to practice oral language with the teacher, and when they did, only produced short, simplistic, factual responses. Lindholm-Leary argued that this leads to "immersion speak," or non-native-like language (p. 125). Thus, the students' language reflects the teachers' language.

Spain experienced a similar issue with its Spanish/Euskara DI programs, and acted to improve teachers' language skills. When the Basque region found DI teachers' heritage language skills were insufficient, it adapted its teacher in-service programs to include a Euskara language component and required proficiency in Euskara. This policy has helped to increase the level of teachers' proficiency in Euskara (Torres-Guzmán & Etxeberría, 2005). Interestingly, Torres-Guzmán and Etxeberría, (2005) cited "the government's commitment to [language] revitalization" as the primary reason for this positive change that supports heritage language learning (p. 519). If the U.S. were to adopt a similar policy, state governments that monitor teacher credentialing would need to recognize the importance of languages other than English and require DI educators to be proficient in the language(s) they teach.

What impact does educators' lack of Spanish proficiency have on students? Ballinger and Lyster (2011) found that teachers' expectations affected students' language choice in whole group and small group settings. Teachers who did not have strict expectations for Spanish language use during Spanish time had students who "were never observed using Spanish" (p. 303). On the other hand, when a teacher "required" the

students to use Spanish, they did so in "almost every situation" (p. 303). The impact of a teacher's demand for Spanish can clearly have a profound effect: Students' use of academic Spanish was essentially absent in classrooms where teachers did not require it.

Impact of Academic Language on Speaking, Listening, Reading and Writing

Since the correlation between language proficiency and success in school is so strong (Suárez-Orozco, et al., 2008), academic language instruction may be a key to more equitable outcomes for ELs, particularly in DI programs where their home language and culture should be a valued part of the curriculum. However, Delpit (1992) and Compton-Lilly (2009) share a concern that educators inadvertently position academic language and literacy activities in conflict with the cultures and identities of students of color, which may result in rejection of literacy and literate discourse. Delpit (1992) wrote, "Undoubtedly, many students of color do reject literacy, for they feel that literate Discourses reject them" (p. 247). Educators have the responsibility to counteract this sense of rejection from academia so that students' linguistic strengths and ideas are acknowledged, validated and used to support academic literacy. Pedagogical practices must provide access to academic language in order for students to navigate a world that they may not see as their own.

Reciprocity. Language is the foundation for the expressive acts of speaking and writing, as well as for the receptive acts of listening and reading. Tharp and Gallimore (1988) stated that the language and literacy skills of reading, writing, listening and speaking develop concurrently. Just as students can be taught to transfer what they know from one language to another (Goldenberg, 2008), they can also be taught to use the reciprocal relationships among reading, writing, listening and speaking to develop those

skills. For example, research points to a close relationship between oral language proficiency and reading achievement, especially for more academic aspects of language proficiency (Genesee, Lindholm-Leary, Saunders & Christian, 2005). The growth of proficiency in the different domains of language may not develop at the same rate, however. Verde Peleato (2011) found that teachers in a DI program rated their students as better at the receptive acts of listening and reading than at the expressive acts of speaking and writing in both Spanish and English. While this is a study of teachers' perceptions rather than data collected directly from students, it corroborates prior research (Lindholm-Leary, 2001).

Language and literacy can both be taught holistically, as individual skills or as a combination of these two methods. Clay (2004) noted that many curricula in the primary grades break language tasks up into their component parts, and some students struggle to pull them together:

> I am encouraging teachers to understand that learning in one language area enriches the potential for learning in the other areas. Therefore, if we plan instruction that links oral language and literacy learning (writing and reading) from the start—so that writing and reading and oral language processing more forward together, linked and patterned from the start—that instruction will be more powerful (p. 9).

For example, as young students read aloud, the auditory input helps them to self-monitor comprehension and fluency, solidify sound-symbol relationships, and predict upcoming words (Stouffer, 2011). The auditory input from reading aloud allows students to self-monitor for meaning and structure, cross-check auditory and visual information,

and provides an auditory scaffold for solving words. Students are "constructing and composing" meaning when they speak, read, write and listen (Clay, 2004, p. 4).

Godley and Minnici (2008) explored the power of language as the basis of literacy and stated, "Because language is the medium of all text-based literacy and because language is a primary means through which existing power structures are upheld and challenged, understanding its nature, use, and variety is an essential part of academic and critical literacy" (p. 322). It would be naïve to consider literacy without also considering the language related to the literacy event and the language demands of the classroom. A teacher can then determine instructional steps to lessen the gap between students' needs and academic demands (Valdés, et al., 2005). Some common classroom language demands include:

> Understand explanations and presentations of classroom and school rules, routines and procedures; understand explanations and presentations of subject matter information; respond to questions about explanations and presentations; ask questions about explanations and presentations; understand and participate in class discussions; work in small groups; understand texts and materials; complete written assignments based on explanations and text materials; complete projects; demonstrate learning through oral presentations; [and] demonstrate learning through written examinations (Valdés, et al., 2005, p. 147).

(For a discussion of the language demands of a high school graduation examination, see Wong Fillmore and Snow, 2000).

Teachers need to consider the language demands of the content and teach the required language along with the content. Identifying specific language demands and

structures for individual lessons and incorporating those language objectives into the instruction may help students bridge to academic language. Helping students use what they know in other domains of language will support their acquisition of academic language. For example, students may create a convincing oral argument when they want to spend more time playing video games, but may find it difficult to write a persuasive essay. Helping students to realize that what they know can help them learn new things can create a sense of agency. Teaching students to use reciprocity in their own learning can be empowering.

While the concept of reciprocity shows how reading, writing, listening and speaking work together to develop language and literacy, for the purposes of organization I address each of the language domains separately.

Speaking. Genesee et al. (2005) stated that it is common for language learners to make rapid progress from beginning to intermediate proficiency, but slower progress from intermediate to advanced proficiency. This is true for L2 oral proficiency in both Spanish and English, and in both English-only and DI classrooms. Alvarez's (2011) study, which focused on the use of talk in comprehending Science texts, explored the relationship among conversation about content, students' oral language, and their reading levels. This qualitative study found that increased talk supported students' comprehension as well as their ability to use language in an academic context.

While talk enables students to learn content as well as language, quiet classrooms are often the norm. When language instruction does occur, "the student usually is not free to express ideas and thoughts, because the lesson usually focuses on learning features of the language, not on discussion of an interesting topic" (Tharp & Gallimore, 1988, p.

100). The student is not given an authentic reason to practice using language, so the learning does not stick.

For example, sentence frames can be used in a way that supports academic language acquisition if students are taught to use language flexibly. Sentences frames provide a structure for oral output and are often used to engage EL students in whole and small group classroom discussions (Frey & Fisher, 2011). While sentence frames may support language development, they do not teach students how to independently compose sentences with academic vocabulary and appropriate "mortar" that makes the idea understandable to the reader as well as grammatically correct. Sentence frames tend to teach a very specific statement, but they do not inherently help students to generalize from the specific statement to others like it in order to develop a self-extending system. For example, when teaching comparison, a teacher may use the stem "x and y are alike because …" (Carlo et al., 2008). However, the students do not know that they can use that same general structure to say something else because they are not taught that sentence structures are generalizable. For example, another sentence that fits that structure is: "My mom and my sister are at the store because my sister needs shoes." In this second example, the x and y are replaced by "my mom" and "my sister," and the sentence is completed. Learning common sentence structures enables students to learn how language works and supports its flexible use. Educators cannot possibly teach all the different ways language can be used so students must be explicitly taught to generalize from what they know.

A study by Jordan and Robinson (1972) showed that young students consistently used the grammatical forms they knew but didn't easily take on new ones. When asked to

repeat sentences, both working-class and middle-class students responded using the grammar of their home language, or "filtered imitations through their own grammatical productive systems" (p. 122). The students understood the sentence but repeated it back based on the grammar of their home language. The students were not flexible with other registers of language. Similarly, working class students were found to rely on simple sentences linked by simple conjunctions such as "and" (Fluck, 1977). These studies support the need for students to have a plethora of oral practice with oral language in order to learn different registers, including the academic register.

In practice, however, research has shown that EL students get minimal oral practice in the classroom (Tharp & Gallimore, 1988; Valdés, 1998). Often EL students are separated from their English-speaking peers in distinct English as a Second Language classes with little peer interaction and access to native speakers (Valdés, 2004, 1998). Once placed in "the ESL ghetto," it is difficult to get out (Valdés, 1998, p. 12).

Listening. Since so many U.S. classrooms rely on recitation to communicate content (Tharp & Gallimore, 1988), listening is a skill that could significantly impact a student's success in school. Oral practice of academic language would support ELs' speaking skills, and if done in a meaningful way, would also support aural comprehension. Once students are familiar with an academic register, aurally processing to comprehend is quicker and easier because the student can focus on the content of the message rather than on how the message was stated. Fluck (1977, 1978) showed that the interplay between grammar and meaning in a sentence is complex in five and six year old children. Children's aural comprehension depended on the order of the object and subject clauses and whether the verb was active or passive. He concluded, "the child whose

competence does not include such [knowledge] may be at a disadvantage in an educational system which emphasizes the use of language for such purposes" (1977, p. 48). Fluck used complex sentences in his studies, while a more recent study by Fisher, Klingler, and Song (2006) used less complex language to show that children as young as two use sentence structure to understand new words (specifically, prepositions). Interestingly, this was only true for "high-vocabulary" two year olds (p. B26). The authors posited that this might be because high-vocabulary children already know how to learn new vocabulary from oral discourse.

Cohesion, or the way phrases and sentences are connected, is another important aspect of aural comprehension. Cohesion is difficult for ELs because it relies heavily on lexical and grammatical devices and is therefore related to the listener's language proficiency (Celce-Murcia & Olshtain, 2000). Tanenhaus and Seidenberg (1981) did three experiments that examined the influence of a context sentence on the processing of a subsequent sentence and determined that when an ambiguous pronoun is used listeners make an inference to previous nouns or to subsequently spoken nouns. It should be noted, however, that the participants in this study were part of the Columbia University community, so they were likely to have been successful aural comprehenders before the study.

In addition to cohesion, metacognition was also found to have a positive impact on listening skills. Goh (2008) found that ELs who were taught metacognitive listening comprehension strategies such as monitoring and verifying outperformed their peers on listening assessments. She also argued for both top-down (big picture focus) and bottom-up (word or sentence level focus) listening comprehension instruction. Like Clay (2005),

Goh acknowledged the reciprocity of listening and speaking and stated, "Metacognitive instruction is more effective when students collaborate and co-construct knowledge through talk" (p. 207). Vandergrift and Tafaghodtari (2010) also acknowledged the importance of talking about a topic to solidify aural comprehension. They did a similar study to determine that teaching language learners to be metacognitive listeners had a significant impact on listening for main idea and details. The participants were English-speaking university students in a French class, so the generalization to low performing, low SES, English learners is questionable. One of the complexities ELs face is learning the content (ie, what is a main idea?) in a new language while learning the language itself, whereas the university students in Vandergrift and Tafaghodtari's study likely knew the concepts of main idea and details, and simply had to identify them in a less familiar language.

Vandergrift and Tafaghodtari's (2010) study also confirmed Clay's (2007) understanding that children's control of English is expected to increase over time. Whether or not that happens, however, may depend on many variables, such as the amount of practice provided and access to conversation with academic English speakers. Ultimately the goal is for students to develop a "self-extending system" to learn to independently learn about language through its use – reading, writing, listening and speaking (Clay, 2005, p. 114).

Reading. Krashen (2011) claimed that voluntary reading of academic texts is the best way for students to acquire academic proficiency in a second language, and the academic language acquired through reading is a by-product of the content learned. While there may be many qualifications to Krashen's statement, it is logical from a

cultural perspective, as the reader is essentially apprenticed in the academic language of the texts. Compton-Lilly (2009) asserted, "Reading is a social experience that involves culture and identity" (p. 88). If students identify with the text and the language used in it, they may acquire academic language more quickly than those who read less.

Christensen (2011) and others (Baker, 2002; Isenbarger and Willis, 2006) have recommended that teachers include literature from diverse English registers to enable students to observe the different language structures of varying registers. Studying one's home language, and then the relationship between the home language and academic and professional languages, helps students to engage in learning different registers (Baker, 2002). Explicitly teaching students to use cognates from their first language is another recommended strategy (Montelongo, Hernández & Herter, 2011). Similarly, Valdés, et al. (2005) acknowledged that the ability to read complex texts requires the understanding of sentence structure and grammar.

When children are first learning to read, the texts used should represent their home language structures (Clay, 2007, 2005, 2004). If other types of structures are used in the very early stages of learning to read, some children might have difficulty achieving basic concepts about print skills such as learning that their oral language connects to the print on a page. Complex language structures also make comprehension difficult, as unusual word order can be confusing. For example, dialogue markers such as "said" can occur before a quotation, at the end of a quotation, or even in the middle of it (Weber, 2008). EL students who are not explicitly taught this may have trouble comprehending who is speaking depending on the location of the dialogue marker (Clay, 2004; Weber, 2008). However, once young students learn basic concepts about print and the connection

between print and language, it is important to expose them to texts with increasingly complex sentence structures in order to scaffold their learning. Some authors (for example, Vardell, Hadaway & Young, 2006) promote keeping texts simple so that ELs can easily comprehend, but not exposing ELs to grade-level texts only increases the achievement gap in the long term.

The importance of scaffolding increasingly complex sentence structures should not be understated. A study of bilingual students in Kindergarten through second grade showed a positive correlation between within-language expressive skills and reading comprehension (Manis, Lindsey, & Bailey, 2004). In other words, if children could use a structure orally, they were more likely to understand it in print. The authors also found that concepts about print, phonological awareness, and rapid naming correlated cross-linguistically with later reading success. The key finding is that ELs need oral practice with sentence structures as well as exposure in text to increase reading comprehension.

Sentence structure is possibly the most important source of information in reading comprehension (Clay, 2001). Isakson (1979) found that comprehension processing increases when the reader determines the structure of a sentence because the structure enables the reader to integrate the information up to that point. In other words, the syntactical context of the sentence enables the reader to process the meaning. McNamara, Crossley and McCarthy (2010) supported this finding, stating, "Syntax helps the reader link underlying relationships between concepts. Thus, readers segment sentences into phrases and constituents (parsing) and determine relationships between them" (p. 62). Comprehending text may be particularly difficult for struggling readers because they may encounter more difficulty identifying the appropriate sentence structure.

The same is likely true for EL students who may be entirely unfamiliar with a sentence structure. Students can "word call" in English without comprehending the text (Nathan & Stanovich, 1991); a lack of familiarity with English sentence structure and vocabulary may be partially responsible for this trouble.

A recent study used brain imaging to determine how readers process syntactically ambiguous sentences. Stowe, Paans, Wijers and Zwarts (2004) determined that as text information is received, the brain does a myriad of calculations and recalculations to comprehend. Interestingly, the parts of the brain activated during this process are not the parts typically associated with language. The authors concluded that the brain may consider the process of understanding syntactically complex sentences to be a series of calculations rather than a language task.

Just as language structure should be explicitly taught, so should the relationship between the structure of a sentence and the structure of a text, or what Valdés, et al. (2005) call the "structure of argumentation" (p. 153). This is particularly true in expository texts, with some common rhetorical structures being cause-effect, problem-solution and compare-contrast (Dreher & Gray, 2009). Text structures such as these often use predictable sentence structures that reflect the greater text structure. For example, a compare-contrast text will often use comparative sentence structures such as "x is [adjective + er] than y, but y is [adjective + er] than x." Knowing this could help students to understand the sentence as well as the organization and "big picture" of the text. Dreher and Gray (2009) explained, "The number and variety of the rhetorical structures used in informational texts can create challenges for readers, particularly if they have not received explicit instruction in how to recognize and learn from these different structures"

(p. 134). Therefore, in informational text sentence structure can be a key to unlocking the text structure, and therefore its meaning. Unfortunately Duke (2000) found that students in low-income schools receive extremely little exposure to informational texts. In about half of the first grade classes that Duke visited, no expository texts were used at all. A lack of exposure to these text structures and at an early age could partly explain the difficulty students encounter in content reading in the upper grades.

Writing. Writing is especially taxing for ELs because it often demands more academic language than oral tasks, and is frequently given little attention in classrooms (Olsen, 2000; Vygotsky, 1978). For English learners as for other students, writing is intimately linked to identity (Dyson, 1994). An EL student may have a myriad of exciting ideas but find difficulty expressing them in formal, academic English. Teacher feedback may include red ink that corrects the mechanical errors but ignores the ideas and concepts expressed (Valdés, 2004).

In addition, a student who has not mastered academic writing and its mainstream nuances might hesitate before expressing him/herself in writing in school. Skilton-Sylvester (2002) pointed out that we ask students to write, but then constrain them by giving purely evaluative responses. The "permanence of writing" (Purcell-Gates, 2001) places the standard English learner in a situation in which she will likely feel unsafe. Knowing that her language, syntax and style are not "academic," she can expect negative feedback from teachers. Every time she writes, her identity is marked up in red pen, adding another piece of evidence that her culture and language are subordinate. Skilton-Sylvester (2002) wrote:

> It needs to be clear to students that they have something to gain by learning school writing conventions. This "return on investment" needs to be more than a good grade. We need to show the doors that open up if one can write "transparent" messages as part of academic discourse. Even more, we need to show that there is an immediate return on students' investment in school writing, that this writing is being written for real audiences and real purposes beyond evaluation (p. 85).

Skilton-Sylvester called for authentic purposes for writing as well as teacher feedback focused on ideas.

Valdés (2004) also expressed concern about the way writing is often taught to ELs, writing, "What is often missing entirely … is the notion that writing is about ideas, that presentations are about ideas, and that when one engages in writing and speaking one also engages in a dialogue with others" (p. 122). Emphasizing the concept of writing as dialogue about ideas would not only reinforce a positive identity connection with academic writing, but also could support both oral and written language learning. Valdés encouraged students to engage in academic debate to show that their ideas are important. She supported the concept of "multiple texts and multiple voices" to show and foster diverging opinions and respectful academic debate (p. 123).

Valdés (2004) has suggested that, in part, the "how" of writing will arise out of the content through a critical pedagogy approach. She wrote, "[Students] should be made aware of other voices, of how they speak, how they write, of the ways they say and do not say what they mean, of the resources they use to gain attention, to persuade, and to explain, and then, they should be encouraged to respond" (p. 123). Critical discussions help students choose *how* to respond, including conscious, educated decisions regarding

the register in which they choose to respond to any written or oral task. She proposed "a critical bilingual and bicultural pedagogy" be used as a foundation for bilingual education (p. 116).

An authentic purpose for writing has certain characteristics that would change the way writing is perceived by both teachers and students. It would engage students in a dialogue of ideas with an audience broader than just the teacher. Vygotsky (1978) wrote, "Writing should be meaningful for children, that an intrinsic need should be aroused in them, and that writing should be incorporated into a task that is necessary and relevant for life" (p. 118). Authentic writing would also require the teacher to respond to students' ideas rather than solely the mechanics. Valdés (2004) suggested that teachers should address students' ideas first and mechanics second to focus attention on developing academic language. The mechanics then become details necessary to better express the ideas, rather than the ultimate purpose. As Vygotsky (1978) stated, "Children should be taught written language, not just the writing of letters" (p. 119). Language is the basis for writing, yet mechanics are often taught to the exclusion of written communicative strategies.

Baker (2002) promoted the explicit teaching of varying English dialects through reading and writing, as studying and valuing one's home language allows for easier, more efficient learning of academic English and connects the learning of language to the social world in which the learner resides. She wrote, "The study of grammar is very much a personal issue, a racial and class issue, a political issue" (2002, p. 59). Educators must appreciate and respect these identity claims while simultaneously providing students with the knowledge to navigate different registers. Valuing students' language in writing can

serve as a bridge to academic writing (Baker, 2002; Christensen, 2011; Dyson, 1994). Students can then be taught to code switch among registers in order to enable them to retain their cultural voice and navigate the academic and professional worlds (Baker, 2002; Christensen, 2011). Explicit instruction of academic language supports the processes of language (and / or register) maintenance and acquisition.

However, a sophisticated balance between respecting students' home language and teaching an academic register of English is required. For example, when students are first learning to write, teachers should accept their oral language structures in written form for a period of time, even if the sentence are not grammatically correct (Clay, 2005, 1991). This supports early literacy learning as students recognize that they can write what they can say (Clay, 2005, 1991). Accepting students' language also shows respect for their home dialect and their current state of progress as an English learner. If as students are learning to write, content is ignored and the focus is on grammar, our corrections can be interpreted as not valuing the child's thinking. Clay (2004) also noted that language structures that a child can write are also available for reading and speaking.

Camitta (1993) believed the same is true for adolescent English learners because language and writing are intimately connected to identity. She explained, "For adolescents, writing, thinking, talking and feeling are interconnected activities, multiple channels and levels of discourse upon a topic… Adolescents express their inner life through writing, believing that in the act of writing they are telling the truth about themselves" (p. 243). This expresses the intimate relationship between writing and identity, and is reason enough for valuing students' home language and building on it to foster academic writing. The language students use when writing reflects not only who

they are, but how they want to be perceived (Dyson, 1994).

Regardless of how students want to be perceived, their writing informs others' perceptions of them. McNamara, Crossley and McCarthy (2010) explored the importance of syntactical complexity in academic writing. They examined undergraduate essays and learned that sentence complexity was the number one predictor of an essay being rated as high by expert graders using a standardized rubric. Lexical diversity and word frequency, both of which are measures of academic vocabulary, were the second and third predictors of a high rating. Essentially, the sophistication of how the ideas were communicated was more important than the ideas themselves. One can see how EL students might be at a disadvantage if graders consider sentence complexity and sophisticated vocabulary more important than quality of ideas and text cohesion. Knowledge of academic sentence structure is clearly necessary for ELs to be successful in scholarly writing.

Sentence combining has been shown to be a more effective way to teach sentence complexity than the traditional approach of teaching grammar in isolation (Andrews, et al., 2006). Sentence combining is the practice of taking two or more independent sentences and putting them together to create a more complex sentence while maintaining the meaning. This practice teaches flexibility with writing, resulting in better writing quality (Sjolie, 2006) as well as accuracy in formal, academic grammar (Andrews, et al., 2006). An earlier study by Szabo (1976) showed that development of linguistic flexibility supported speaking as well as writing.

McNamara, Crossley and McCarthy (2010) also discovered, "The textual features that characterize good student writing are not aligned with those features that facilitate reading comprehension. Rather, essays judged to be of higher quality were more likely to

contain linguistic features associated with text difficulty and sophisticated language" (p. 57). Linguistic simplicity and common vocabulary would facilitate reading comprehension, the authors argue, so the skills required for academic writing are contrary to what would make it easy to read the text. This finding emphasizes the need to expose ELs to sophisticated texts and deconstruct the texts and sentence structures to provide concrete examples of the expectations of academic writing.

Conclusion

Academic language can be a key to more equitable academic outcomes for ELs as it impacts reading, writing, listening and speaking, as well as the content communicated in those actions. The body of literature on ELs' acquisition of academic English shows the need for academic language to be taught explicitly to ELs in order to achieve more equitable outcomes. Some studies have shown that DI programs increase equity of outcomes, as Latino ELs in DI classes tend to outperform their peers in English-only programs. This may be attributed to many factors, such as more culturally responsive classrooms, transfer of L1 to L2, an improved attitude toward school or greater access to English-speaking peers. The academic language students learn in their L1 may also have a significant positive impact on their acquisition of academic English. Regardless of the reason(s), it is important to further research ELs' success in DI programs.

This study contributes to the literature of ELs in DI programs by exploring how educators teach academic language in both Spanish and English within the context of an English-dominant culture. It addresses issues such as how teachers support language equity and how they help students to value their L1 and transfer their knowledge to their L2. It also considers how teachers value students' home registers and simultaneously

teach an academic register within the confines of cultural practices that devalue Spanish and its native speakers. In Moje's (2007) words, "Social justice pedagogy should, in other words, offer possibilities for transformation, not only of the learner but also of the social and political contexts in which learning and other social action take place" (p. 4). This study explores how teachers navigate a complex and dysfunctional school context in order to best support their students' L1 maintenance and L2 acquisition.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

I conducted a qualitative study of four Spanish-English Dual Immersion (DI) elementary school teachers to explore how they support students' acquisition of academic language in a hyper-segregated setting in both English and Spanish. I investigated what was occurring in classrooms, how the contextual factors shaped instruction, and how teachers used transfer and reciprocity in their instruction.

Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

The purpose of this study was to explore how DI teachers delivered high-quality academic language instruction to ELs in both Spanish and English, including reading, writing, listening and speaking in hyper-segregated DI programs. This study could serve as a foundation for future research to help teachers in U.S. schools to design and deliver high-quality academic language instruction for ELs in both Spanish and English, and inform teacher preparation programs and curriculum development in Spanish and English.

The research question that guided this study was: How do educators facilitate ELs' acquisition of academic language in Spanish and English in a hyper-segregated setting? The sub-questions were: (i) How do teachers use the concept of *transfer* between English and Spanish to facilitate student learning? (ii) How do teachers use the concept of *reciprocity* among the domains of reading, writing, speaking and listening to facilitate student learning?

Research Design

In order to answer the research questions posed above, I used the qualitative research methods of observation, interview and document collection. Swain and Deters

(2007) called for the use of qualitative research in second language acquisition research and theory design, reinforcing the importance of both emic and etic perspectives. They noted that it is important to develop a deep understanding of the participants' perspectives as well as the theories that influence researchers' interpretations. An emic lens uses the participants' language and culture as the foundation for findings and theory construction, while an etic perspective uses previously-stated theories to help explain what the researcher finds in the field (Patton, 2002). In this study, observations and interviews (formal and informal) allowed for data collection to include participants' perspectives as well as my interpretations. Since self-reflexivity of the researcher is also important in qualitative research, I tried to be metacognitive about the research process as well as the presuppositions, values, theories and beliefs I brought to the study (Merriam, 2009; Patton, 2002).

In this study, data collection and analysis occurred simultaneously and in a recursive manner, as Charmaz (2006) suggests, with significantly more data analysis occurring after the data was collected. After interviews and observations were completed, data were coded, first initially and then more intricately. I wrote memos during the data collection and analysis stages to reflect on the data. I also conducted member checks with participants to determine if the participants agreed with or could add to my interpretations.

Research Setting

Jackson Avenue Elementary (JAA)

The school site is significant to this study because of its demographics and linguistic isolation from the English-speaking mainstream. A highway divides one of the most affluent areas in the U.S. from the community in which JAA is situated. In the fall

of 2011 the headquarters of one of Silicon Valley's largest companies relocated about a mile from the school, yet 98 percent of JAA's students qualify for free or reduced lunch. JAA is geographically close to extreme wealth and privilege, but does not participate in or benefit from it. It is representative of many other linguistically isolated or hyper-segregated communities in which poor students, students of color and English learners attend under-resourced, low-performing schools. Capitelli (2009) called for research to be done in linguistically segregated schools like JAA in order to better understand teaching and learning in these settings. As a result, this study aims to contribute to the literature by adding a unique social and educational reality.

JAA's DI program was further segregated from English speakers at the same school in August 2011, when the Structured English Immersion (SEI) students moved to the other end of the school. The site was large and shaped like an H. The DI and SEI students were segregated on the two vertical, parallel lines of the H, and the gym, library and cafeteria comprised the horizontal line of the H. By the time the study was ending at the end of May 2012, the DI program was in the process of becoming its own school. It reopened under a new name in the fall of 2012.

Linguistically homogeneous and isolated from native English speakers, only one or two students in each of the classrooms in this study were classified as bilingual or "English only;" the rest were ELs. One result of this "hyper-segregation" is a lack of English speaking peers (Valdés et al., 2011, p. 6). In such environments, the language acquisition process can "go awry" as ELs do not have sufficient access to native English speakers (Wong Fillmore & Snow, 2000). The language learning process in DI programs in particular is based on students from different linguistic backgrounds learning from

each other (Lindholm-Leary, 2001). Without a sufficient number of native English speakers, this process is one-sided.

JAA's Demographics. The school's demographics complicate its self-proclaimed status as a DI program. According to Lindholm-Leary (2001), DI programs should have approximately 50 percent English speakers and 50 percent Spanish speakers, or one-third bilingual students, one-third Spanish speaking and one-third English speaking. At this school site, however, the 90/10 DI model is followed despite the student body not conforming to the program model. Much of the research on DI programs has been done in mixed communities in schools with both English-speaking and Spanish-speaking students (de Jong & Howard, 2009; Lindholm-Leary, 2001; Lindholm-Leary & Borsato, 2002; Lindholm-Leary & Block, 2010; Lindholm-Leary & Hernández, 2011; Potowski, 2004, 2007).

The site contains the student population of interest for this study. At JAA, 99 percent of the students were students of color, 98 percent were low socioeconomic status (as measured by free and reduced lunch), and 84 percent were classified as ELLs (California Department of Education, 2011). The only white student at the school was the principal's first-grade daughter. JAA's demographics exemplify the current trend toward the segregation of ELs from their English-speaking peers (Alim, 2005; García, Kleifgen, & Falchi, 2008). A result of the segregation is a lack of exposure to English-speaking students, which is an important component of DI programs (Lindholm-Leary, 2001).

Table 1.

Demographic Information for JAA[4].

Demographic Information	Percent of Students
Hispanic or Latino	87%
Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander	7%
Black or African-American	5%
Asian	1%
White	1%
Free or Reduced Lunch	98%
English Learners	84%
Reclassified Fluent-English-Proficient (RFEP)s	6%

(California Department of Education, 2011)

The level of parent education at JAA was similarly homogeneous. Sixty-two percent of parents did not graduate from high school, 25 percent graduated from high school, ten percent had some college and three percent graduated from college (California Department of Education, 2011).

JAA's Academic Performance. It is important to note in Table Two that 84 percent of students were English learners, and only six percent had been reclassified as English proficient. Reclassification is a measure commonly used to get a general sense of whether or not students are learning academic English (Hakuta, 2011). While JAA only goes up to fifth grade, a six percent reclassification rate suggests that students are not

[4] JAA's demographic data (in Table 2) represents both the DI and SEI strands of the school.

learning the academic English that would allow them to be reclassified as English proficient. Lindholm-Leary and Hernández (2011) found that DI students who were reclassified as English proficient closed the achievement gap with native English speakers. JAA's low reclassification rate is one indicator of low student performance.

The 2012-2013 California English Language Development Test (CELDT) Information Guide[5], published by the California Department of Education in September 2012, explains the requirements students must meet to be reclassified as English proficient. First and foremost, they must have an overall score of Early Advanced or Advanced on the CELDT, California's English language assessment, with a score no lower than Intermediate on any of the reading, writing, speaking and listening sections. In addition, students must score at least Basic on the California Standards Test (CST), and parents and teachers must recommend the student be reclassified. Finally, districts must closely monitor students who are reclassified for two years after the reclassification decision is made.

In the 2011-2012 school year, two percent of EL students at JAA (four students) scored Advanced on the CELDT[6], nine percent (14 students) scored Early Advanced, 30 percent scored Intermediate, 27 percent scored Early Intermediate, and 32 percent scored Beginning (California Department of Education, 2012)[7]. Since students must score Advanced or Early Advanced to be considered for reclassification, only 18 students were eligible. Approximately 89 percent of JAA's ELs scored in the lowest three CELDT classifications. The 2012 scores showed a significant improvement from the prior year,

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[5] Retrieved from http://www.cde.ca.gov/ta/tg/el/documents/celdtinfoguide1213.pdf
[6] CELDT scores include both the DI and SEI strands of the school.
[7] Retrieved from http://dq.cde.ca.gov/dataquest/CELDT/results.aspx?year=2011-2012&level=school&assessment=1&subgroup=1&entity=41-68999-0000-6044341

when 45 percent of students scored Beginning (California Department of Education, 2011)[8].

JAA's CELDT distribution is not unlike the distribution of all CELDT scores in state of California, kindergarten through twelfth grade. Last year in California 7 percent of students scored advanced, twelve percent score Early Advanced, 22 percent scored Intermediate, 24 percent scored Early Intermediate and 36 percent scored Beginning. EL students statewide struggle to pass the Intermediate performance level, and therefore the great majority (81 percent) are not eligible for reclassification.

At the time of this study, JAA was tied for the ninth lowest performing school in the state (California Department of Education, 2011). Its 2011 Academic Performance Index (API) score was 643, up from 617 in 2010. The state of California considers a score of 800 to be satisfactory. JAA's API over the last decade is shown in Figure One. (The API scores reflect both the SEI and DI strands at the school; the data is not disaggregated by strand.)

[8] Retrieved from http://dq.cde.ca.gov/dataquest/CELDT/results.aspx?year=2010-2011&level=school&assessment=1&subgroup=1&entity=41-68999-0000-6044341

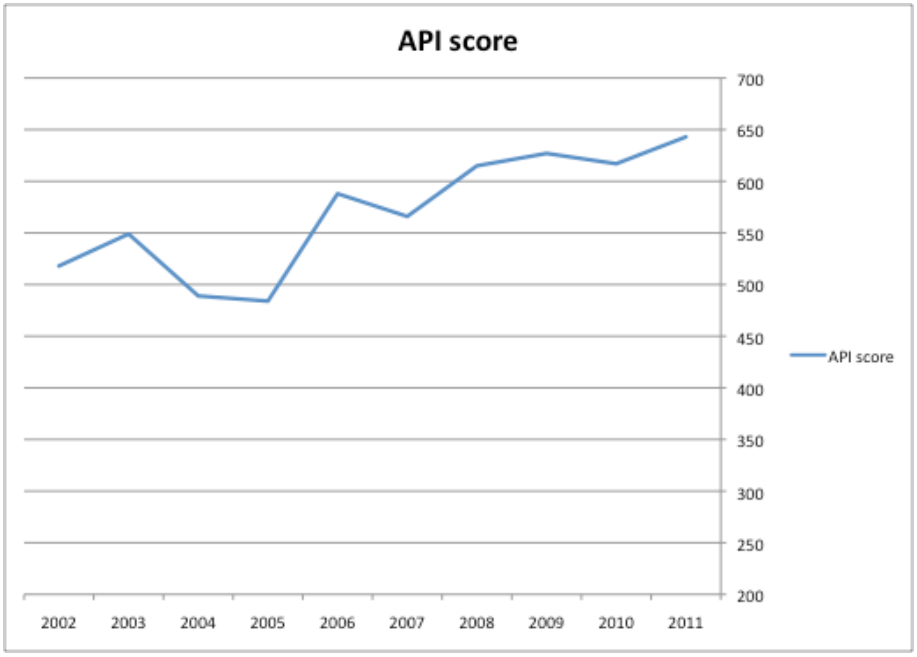

Figure 1. JAA's API scores, 2002 - 2011 (California Department of Education, 2011).

In 2005 the school reached a record low API score of 484, but 2011 saw the school's highest API in the last decade. While I question the meaningfulness of standardized test data, I included it for two reasons. First, it shows a steady upward trend totaling 159 points since 2005: A significant increase over time is likely representative of increased student learning. Second, despite a significant improvement over the last six years, an enormous equity gap exists between the low-income English-learner students of color at this school and the rest of California.

In June 2011, the principal was demoted to the status of teacher and moved to another site, and the elementary school merged with the middle school at the same site for administrative, but not testing, purposes. Officially the schools exist as two separate sites sharing one principal. The principal at the time of this study was in her second year

as a middle school principal and did not have any prior elementary experience. In August of 2012 JAA's DI program officially separated from the SEI strand and became its own school.

Instruction at JAA under NCLB. NCLB resulted in three significant shifts at JAA: (i) the sole use of a mandated, state-adopted curriculum, Open Court Reading (OCR) (2000) during the language arts block, which was required to be 2.5 hours (one hour in kindergarten) daily; (ii) the introduction of administrators and District Assistance and Intervention Team (DAIT)[9] members monitoring teachers' use of the OCR curriculum, as stated in the OCR Teacher's Guide and the district's pacing guide; and (iii) the use of benchmark assessments to identify which students – and teachers – were not meeting standard. This study, completed in the 2011-2012 school year, occurred toward the end of the NCLB mandate. Strict adherence to NCLB requirements was waning as a result of the district having been released from sanctions and monitoring by the DAIT officers the state had assigned as a result of the district's Program Improvement[10] status.

Under DAIT's presence, site administrators and district office staff strictly enforced the use of OCR, fidelity to the curriculum through use of the Teacher's Guide while teaching, and the pacing guide. In the 2011-2012 school year the district could not afford to purchase all the student workbooks, so administrators had to be more lenient

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[9] For more information on DAIT teams please see: http://www.cde.ca.gov/ta/ac/ti/daitproviders.asp

[10] In California schools and districts enter Program Improvement status after not meeting Adequate Yearly Progress for two consecutive years. For more information on Program Improvement please see: http://www.cde.ca.gov/ta/ac/ti/programimprov.asp. One consequence of being in Program Improvement for three or more years is monitoring by a state-assigned DAIT team.

about how the curriculum was implemented. However, supplementing the curriculum with guided reading was still taboo. Similarly, the benchmark assessments had recently changed from curriculum-based to standards-based, so teachers felt some flexibility with the pacing guide.

At JAA the fallout from NCLB was the continued use of the OCR curriculum, which many teachers had become accustomed to over the years; the continued pressure for students to be proficient on the benchmark assessments, despite the fact that the assessments shifted from Spanish to English one year without warning; and administrators monitoring classrooms in a way that did not foster deep learning, but inspired frustration among teachers instead. Both teachers and students continued to spend two and a half hours each morning working through the teacher-centered OCR curriculum as a whole group. Daily lessons included phonics, an unrelated grammar or mechanics lesson, and interaction with the story of the week. The lesson structures were the same from kinder through fifth grade, with the content changing by grade level. The text level of the weekly anthology stories was consistently difficult compared to other grade-level readings, and the curriculum was too structured to allow students to think critically or interact with text in a complex, meaningful way (Zacher Pandya, 2011). Literacy was taught as a technical skill rather than a thinking process.

During the 2011-2012 school year the administrator walk-throughs focused on a few items being clearly posted in the classroom: content and language objectives, a daily agenda, state standards and sentence stems. The teachers in this study complied with these superficial requirements because the site administrators, who spoke minimal Spanish, did not intrude on their instruction. Due to the language issue, the district's

Assessment Coordinator completed the DI teachers' formal evaluations. As she had never been a principal before, it was likely the first time she had evaluated teachers.

Sample

I selected a purposeful sample (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003) of four elementary Spanish-English dual immersion teachers. Participant selection was based on my observations of teachers, my experience working with some of the teachers, and informal conversations. The sampling criteria for this study included educators who exhibited high levels of academic Spanish and English and had success in teaching academic language to ELs as determined by state testing results in the 2009 - 2010 and 2010 – 2011 school years. Unfortunately, Inés had spent the previous two years in Spain and taught first grade (an untested grade) prior to that, so I did not have student achievement data for her. Instead, I relied on her positive reputation, informal conversations, and one classroom observation. All participants were bilingual and biliterate in Spanish and English, and some participants knew other languages as well. Three of the four teachers in the study were Latina and the fourth was Spanish. Two teachers had over 15 years of experience teaching, while the other two teachers were relatively new to the profession. Table One provides a summary of the participants.

Table 2

Information About Study Participants.

Participant[11]	Gender	Age	Nationality	Number of years teaching	Current grade level
Inés Reyes	F	42	Spanish	16	3
Claudia Ramos	F	44	Mexican	21	2/3 combo
Isabel Gonzalez	F	28	Mexican-American	3	K
Lauren Sandía	F	27	Mexican-American	5	4

Rationale for selection of individual participants. Participant selection is one of the most important aspects of qualitative research, as the participants' perspectives and interpretations of the world form a significant part of the data. I wanted participants who had a range of teaching experience and high levels of academic language in Spanish and English to avoid the problem that Guerrero (2003) and Lindholm-Leary (2001) found: DI teachers' academic Spanish was inadequate. Previous success with ELs was another important piece of selection criteria. I also wanted a range of grade levels to explore how the language demands of the classroom, teachers' language and students' language change as students get older. Finally, a diversity of ages, teaching experience and backgrounds was important to provide differing perspectives. The four teachers selected met these requirements: they were bilingual and biliterate, reflective, successful language teachers, had a wide range of teaching experience, and had diverse backgrounds and educational experiences. In addition, they spanned kindergarten through fourth grade, which enabled me to explore language development across many years of schooling.

[11] All names are pseudonyms.

As a former teacher at JAA, I had a significant amount of information about the teachers. For example, I knew that Claudia and Inés completed their undergraduate and graduate education in their native countries, Mexico and Spain respectively, and had higher levels of academic Spanish than many teachers who were educated in the U.S. Having previous relationships with the teachers was helpful in my research as they trusted me and we shared mutual respect. The teachers welcomed me into their classrooms and were relatively uninhibited during the observations and interviews, despite my audio recorder always being on. However, there were two key drawbacks to having relationships with the participants. The first concerned only Inés, who was not the best choice for this study. I discuss this in more detail in her participant profile. Second, during the interviews, the teachers occasionally implied their ideas rather than stating them explicitly due to our common experience as teachers at the school. This is discussed in more detail in the Data Collection Procedures section. I refer to the teachers using their first names, reflecting the informal relationship among us.

Claudia Ramos. Since Claudia was my former partner teacher, I knew that she had an extraordinarily high level of academic Spanish and was also fluent in German and English. A student of languages, Claudia often corrected teachers and students in their use of Spanish, and was an accepted authority on the Spanish language at JAA. Claudia moved from Mexico City to the U.S. about a decade prior to this study as part of a program to bring more Spanish-speaking teachers to schools that needed them. While many of her students were also from Mexico, Claudia noted a class difference between herself and her students, who typically came from rural, poor parts of the country. She talked about this difference in terms of their colloquial Spanish reflecting lack of formal

education. An important motivation for Claudia was to give her students, "*un sentido de orgullo y de identificación cultural e identificación lingüística*" (a sense of pride and cultural identity and linguistic identity) (Claudia, Interview, May 3, 2012). She wanted them to be proud Spanish speakers despite living in a society that does not value their language.

Classroom profile. Students in Claudia's class were highly engaged and active learners. She did not require strict silence, but told students to work together and help each other. When I observed, student talk was generally on task and in the language of instruction. Claudia's students seemed to know that she loved them even when she was scolding them, which she did freely. During whole-class instruction Claudia's students would sometimes raise their hands to participate and would sometimes just jump in, but always respectfully, and in a way that showed that they knew that she would respect their ideas and opinions. There was a sense of respect and trust in Claudia's classroom that allowed for rules to be relaxed and students to feel comfortable taking risks. All of Claudia's students were English learners; there were no native English speakers in her class.

Students were arranged in five table groups of four or five students. This was the first year of class size increasing from 20 to 24 students in kinder through third grade due to budget cuts. The tables consisted of two double desks, so there were desks for 20 students in a classroom with 24 students. Four students sat at the ends of the table and had a separate place on a shelf for the books and anything else they would normally put in a desk. When I asked Claudia about why the students did not have their own desks, she said she did not have space in the classroom for four extra desks (Interview, March 27,

2012). The five third graders in the class sat at one table toward the back of the room by the easel with their daily agenda (which was almost identical to the second grade agenda).

Claudia's second and third grade combination class was neat and well-organized. The walls were covered with standards, student work and teacher-made anchor charts. The back wall had cabinets that were decorated with students' writing next to their photos. The writing was compiled with the most recent work on top, so students' writing progress over time could be easily observed. There was about one piece of writing per month on the wall. One long wall of windows was covered in California standards in student-friendly language. This had been a requirement a few years ago, and Claudia, while complaining about the amount of wall space they consumed, kept the standards up because she thought they might still be required and did not want to give the administrators an opportunity to criticize her (Claudia, Interview, March 27, 2012). Below the posting of the standards was a well-organized classroom library with books in both Spanish and English, although the majority was in Spanish as formal reading instruction did not begin until second grade in the DI program.

At the front of the classroom the Open Court sound-spelling cards were placed directly over the whiteboard, as mandated. The left side of the white board was a large Open Court Concept-Question board. The right side of the whiteboard contained the daily agenda, sentence stems, standards, language objectives and content objectives being addressed that day for the second graders in the room. Claudia had set up an easel at the back of the room with the same content for the five third grade students after an administrator had required it. Her second grade class had been turned into a second/third grade combination class in late October, and Claudia did not hide her frustration with the

mid-year change. The sound-spelling cards, standards, sentence stems, content and language objectives, concept-question board, and daily agenda were all required to be each classroom, and were a primary focus of administrators' walk-throughs.

A kidney-shaped small group instruction table was by the door. Next to it was a small, neat teacher's desk with an old-looking desktop computer that Claudia used to take attendance. It was the only computer in the classroom. On the far side of the classroom was a geometric carpet with 20 boxes for students to sit in so that each student had their own space. However, with 24 students in the class this year, and limited space, the rug got a little crowded. The rest of the floor was covered in an old, stained, slate blue, carpet.

Around the room were many small tributes to a student who passed away after being hit by a car – driven by a teacher in the district – as she was walking to school in September. Pictures and letters with her name on them were prominently displayed on a shelf and scattered around the room on almost all the remaining wall surfaces.

Isabel Gonzalez. Isabel immigrated with her family from Mexico to the United States in her early teenage years and was the first in her family to attend college. Her father was a migrant worker who attained legal documents for the family under the1984 amnesty. Isabel said she connected with the students and their families on a very personal level because she shared their struggle to learn English as well as their upbringing in rural, impoverished areas of Mexico and Central America (Isabel, Interview, March 26, 2012). Isabel received her degree and teaching credential from a California State University.

Classroom profile. Isabel's class was less organized than Claudia's. Crayons, pencils or erasers had fallen to the floor, and there were always little bodies moving around. However, as in Claudia's class, students were respectful and highly engaged.

Isabel used a lot of choral repetition and response, and all the students participated enthusiastically. Two of Isabel's students were native English speakers – one was African American and one was Pacific Islander – and the others were native Spanish speakers.

Isabel's kindergarten classroom had many of the same requirements visible on the white boards and walls, such as sound-spelling cards, standards, sentence stems, content and language objectives, concept-question board, and daily agenda. As in Claudia's room, it seemed those things were there simply because they had to be; Isabel did not reference them at all. Isabel's students were arranged in four tables of six children, and each table was a different, bright color. A materials box in the same color as the table was on top of each table, and students shared pencils, erasers, crayons and other materials from the box. Students were only at their desks when they were working independently; Isabel did all her whole-group instruction on the carpet. She had a geometric carpet with boxes for children to sit in, similar to Claudia's, with four rows. Isabel often asked students to turn and talk while on the carpet; one row of students would turn to face another row in an orderly fashion.

The front of the room contained the white board and sound-spelling cards. There was also a child-level chart stand where Isabel did her "daily news" writing lessons each day. The chart included both teacher and student writing, as the lessons usually included a student writing a few words or a sentence.

One of Isabel's walls contained a word wall. Words that students used frequently and words that Isabel wanted students to be able to write were placed under the letter with which they started. Students knew to refer to the word wall when they were writing independently. Another of Isabel's walls was mostly large windows, and during a spring

unit on plants she taped plastic bags with sprouting beans to the windows. This was part of an experiment she was doing with the students; some of the beans/seeds received light and others were in a dark closet.

The back wall had a sink and closets. A large chart with students' names and the number of sight words they could read took up one of the tall doors. Student work was exhibited on the other doors and on almost all other wall surfaces.

One of Isabel's students was the younger sister of the student from Claudia's class who had passed away earlier in the year. Therefore, as in Claudia's room, pictures and letters in sympathy for the deceased student decorated blank spaces on the walls.

Lauren Sandía. A first-generation Mexican-American, Lauren received both her undergraduate degree and Master's in Education from one of the most prestigious private universities in the U.S. Despite coming from a Spanish-speaking family, Lauren learned most of her Spanish in school and while traveling as a young adult. Her father wanted her to learn English, not Spanish. Lauren claimed she learned some Spanish –at least its phonology– from her caretaker grandmother, and she now speaks Spanish without an American accent (Lauren, Interview, March 26, 2012). Both Lauren and Isabel are relatively new to teaching, with fewer than five years of experience.

At the end of the 2012 school year Lauren moved to a DI school in another local, urban district. However, by the Spring of 2013 she was hoping to return to JAA.

Classroom profile. Lauren taught most of her whole-group instruction at the back of the classroom, in front of chart paper and an easel. The 28 fourth graders sat on the floor, which was partially covered by the old, slate blue rug that ran throughout the school, and partially linoleum. Lauren used the chart paper for visual support during her

lessons, and then posted the charts she create on the walls so that students could refer to them. Students were often asked to turn and talk to strategically-assigned partners while on the carpet.

Very soft-spoken herself, Lauren demanded absolute silence from her students. She often spoke at not much more than whisper volume, requiring her students to be silent in order to hear. They met her expectations, being absolutely still and silent during instruction, even after coming in from a loud, sweat-inducing recess.

Lauren's students were arranged in three groups of six toward the front of the room, and three groups of four toward the back of the room. Students' backpacks were hung on the backs of their chairs, and chairs were always pushed in and desks were always in place. Lauren provided students with a lot of structure and high expectations for maintaining a clean and organized room environment.

Lauren's students were slightly more linguistically diverse than other classes. She had two native English speakers and two students who had been reclassified and were no longer considered English learners. She also had a student who had come to her class directly from Guatemala in April and did not speak English when he arrived.

Lauren's classroom was immaculately organized; there was never a paper out of place. The front wall of the room resembled the other teachers' rooms, with the requirements (sound-spelling cards, standards, sentence stems, content and language objectives, concept-question board, and daily agenda) posted prominently. Lauren's white board was usually kept clean, unless she was using it. At the back of the classroom were a sink, closets, a kidney table where Lauren did small group instruction after school, and Lauren's desk, which was almost always clear, with only a desktop computer and a

mug of pens on it. If there were a few papers on the desk, they were always neatly arranged. One side wall displayed teacher-made anchor charts and teacher-made posters that were visual representations of science concepts, such as the life cycle of a rock. Below them were three computers for student use. The opposite wall, mostly windows, had student work posted. In the front right was a small classroom library with a shelf of letters and drawings for the deceased student; a cousin was in Lauren's class.

Inés Reyes. Like Claudia, Inés moved to the U.S. about a decade ago through an international program to bring Spanish-speaking teachers to the U.S. Inés spent about eight years teaching in the U.S. and had returned to Spain for the two years prior to this study. When Inés and I were colleagues at JAA, she was a well-regarded, experienced first grade teacher. Upon returning to JAA after two years in Spain, however, Inés was placed in third grade where she did not feel comfortable and experienced difficulty with classroom management (Inés, Interview, April 30, 2012). Since Inés was in Spain for the two years previous to this study and had taught first grade, an untested grade, prior to that, I did not have access to student achievement data for her, and therefore could not use it for participant selection. The two years off from teaching, change of grade, subsequent feelings of discomfort, and a distracting personal situation resulted in Inés's classroom not being ideal for this study. She focused much of her instruction on test-taking strategies in preparation for the California Standards Test in May.

I had relied on Inés's reputation, informal conversations and a single classroom observation for selection criteria, and this proved to be insufficient. During the classroom observation prior to the study, Inés worked with small groups of students using leveled readers, giving the impression that she differentiated instruction based on students'

reading abilities. Other students were working in small groups or individually to complete various assignments, including writing summaries, completing Open Court[12] workbook pages, listening to an audio recording of the week's Open Court story, and buddy reading. Despite the majority of my observations occurring during Inés's language arts time, this was the first and last time that I saw Inés doing small group instruction.

During the study I witnessed either test preparation for the California Standards Test (CST) or fidelity to the Open Court curriculum during the majority of classroom observations in Inés's room. The instructional shift Inés had made resulted in limited language development practices. When I asked Inés about her change in practices, she expressed concern about her students' recent benchmark assessment scores and thought that fidelity to the curriculum might improve student outcomes. She said that she knew how to differentiate and supplement Open Court in first grade, when students were learning to read. In her first year with the third grade curriculum, however, students' test scores caused her to question her former instructional practices.

Upon reflection, I attribute Inés's positive reputation to her focus on test scores and her acquiescence to administrators' mandates. I neglected to consider that compliance was often confused with good teaching during the NCLB years. At JAA, teachers who complied with the strict curriculum and assessment requirements the district tried to enforce –mostly NCLB mandates— were viewed in a positive light. Additionally, during the years when Inés taught at JAA, the benchmark assessments were curriculum-based, asking questions specific to the stories in the relevant curricular units. Therefore, teachers who followed the pacing guide and implemented Open Court with fidelity

[12] Open Court Reading (2000), published by SRA/McGraw-Hill was the district's language arts curriculum from kindergarten through fifth grade.

tended to get better results on the curriculum-based assessments than those who did not. Since then, the assessments have changed to be standards-based rather than curriculum-based.

Due to these reasons, I did not include data from Inés's classroom in the section on instructional strategies in Chapter Four except as counter examples. However, I did not want to eliminate her from the study entirely, as her opinions were important to other findings. A balanced bilingual with sophisticated academic language in both Spanish in English, Inés's insights are included in the Chapter IV sections titled Contextual Factors Impacting Instruction and Teachers as Advocates.

Classroom profile. Like the other classrooms, the front of Inés's third grade classroom had a large white board, which was largely covered with the requirements (sound-spelling cards, standards, sentence stems, content and language objectives, concept-question board, and daily agenda). Also at the front of the room was Inés's desk, which was consistently covered in piles and piles of photocopies. Her 24 students were arranged in three groups of five students, two table groups of four, and one student who sat by himself. (Inés said that this was his decision.) The mismatched individual desks were at inconsistent heights, giving a slightly chaotic impression. Although the room was large, the tables seemed to be too close together and it was not easy to walk around the room.

In the back were two kidney tables, one that housed the listening center, and another that Inés used for small group instruction the first time I was in her classroom. Along the back wall was a sink and closets. Student writing and pictures were on the closet doors, and the writing was layered so you could see progress over time, with the

most recent writing on top. One side wall hosted student work and large posters of additional sentence frames, which I never saw Inés refer to. Also along this wall was a small classroom library. The other side wall was more student work and teacher-made posters, with three computers for student use below the posters and student work.

Unlike Claudia and Isabel's classrooms, Inés did not have a carpet for students to sit on, and instructed from the front of the room while students sat at their desks. The distance between the teacher and the students and the distractions in students' desks resulted in less engagement and enthusiasm than in the other classes. Some students at the front of the room chose to pay attention. However, the environment was still positive and respectful. Inés had one native English speaker in her class, and three students who were very proficient in English.

The teachers' relationships to language. All four teachers were students of language. They were fascinated by and generally loved language. Claudia, Inés and Lauren all had learned and/or were taking classes to learn languages other than Spanish and English. As students of language, the teachers were self-critical and self-conscious about their ability with their second language (Spanish for Lauren, English for Inés, Isabel and Claudia). Claudia and Inés were both more comfortable teaching in Spanish than in English, and Claudia expressed concern that the students might realize that she doesn't "dominate" English (Claudia, Interview, March 27, 2012). In contrast, Lauren expressed concern about her academic Spanish (Lauren, Interview, March 26, 2012).

Isabel, however, had a more complex relationship with language. Moving from Mexico to the U.S. in her eighth grade year, Isabel struggled academically as she learned English and commented that she has not mastered English like a native speaker.

Simultaneously, she worried that her Spanish had not progressed much past her seventh grade education in Mexico. Isabel felt that her Spanish was incorrect or inferior, especially compared to her colleagues who attended university in Spain or Mexico. This reflects Valdés and Geoffrion-Vinci's (1998) finding that native Spanish speakers in the U.S. tended to have lower levels of academic Spanish than their peers who were educated in Spanish-speaking countries. Isabel claimed that she spoke like her students and their families, and believed it helped her to develop positive relationships with students' families.

The teachers' enthusiasm and appreciation for language were evident in their instruction. They were metacognitive with language and talked about it explicitly with their students. All four teachers expressed insecurity in at least one of the languages they used for instruction, but they also all shared a deep desire to continue to learn languages.

Data Collection Procedures

Before beginning data collection in March 2012, I received written permission to conduct the study from the school principal and the four participating teachers in this study. The principal asked me to send a letter to the parents of the students in the four participating classrooms explaining my study, as she said it would reflect positively on the school.

Data collection included interviewing teachers, observing in classrooms, writing field notes and memos, and collecting pictures, student work and documents from the classrooms. Since this study is focused on language, I audio-taped observations, transcribed them, and conducted discourse analysis (Clarke, 2005). The protocol used to guide the data collection process is in Appendix B.

Interviews

I held formal, semi-structured interviews (Meriam, 2009) with participants at the beginning, middle and end of the study (approximately once per month in March, April and May), based on the interview guide in Appendix A. The interviews lasted 40 to 90 minutes and occurred after school or during lunch, whenever was most convenient for the teacher. I audio-taped and transcribed, or hired someone to transcribe, all the interviews. I checked each transcription with the audio and edited it on the rare occasions that there was a discrepancy between the transcript and the audio. I also had many informal conversations with teachers before, during or after observations, as well as in the hallway or staff room. These informal, impromptu conversations were typically not audio recorded, but I wrote notes about them and often asked follow-up questions in the pre-planned interviews.

Because I had existing relationships with the participants and shared with them the experience of being a teacher at JAA, the teachers were open and honest during the interviews, but sometimes things were implied and left unsaid. Participants occasionally made comments such as "You know how things are around here," and "Things haven't changed." When this occurred, I asked for clarification or explicitly stated what I thought the participants were implying in order to gain clarity and documentation. Luckily, this mostly occurred when they were discussing external contextual factors such as district politics. It did not occur when teachers were talking about their practice, which was the topic of this study.

Observations

I conducted hour-long classroom observations weekly for a three-month period (March to May 2012), looking for ways in which the teachers supported students' acquisition of academic language in both Spanish and English. I intentionally observed the teachers at different times of day and on different days of the week in order to get a holistic understanding of their instruction across various times, languages and subjects. I used an observation guide or "contact summary sheet" (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p.51) based on the Research Protocol in Appendix B. The goal of my observations was "thick, rich description" (Patton, 2002, p. 437). I used field notes and recording devices to help accurately capture data, thereby increasing descriptive validity.

During the observation I took hand-written field notes, and after each observation I spoke into an audio recorder to capture general impressions and specific thoughts and interpretations. Dragon NaturallySpeaking software transcribed my voice recording into text on my computer. I then reviewed and edited the text and augmented the notes using my hand-written field notes. I transcribed much of the classroom instruction based on the audio files usually within 24 hours of the observation.

Some of my field notes were in English, some were in Spanish, and some were a mixture, largely depending on the language of instruction in the classroom. All transcriptions were done in the language in which the lesson occurred. In May I began using a second observation guide that I had developed from the data that had been collected to that point (see Appendix C). The two observation guides helped me to realize that I had reached a point of data saturation.

I tended to reside on the "observer" end of the "Participant/Observer continuum" in order to observe and take descriptive field notes (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003, p. 82). During some observations, however, I spent much of my time helping students rather than taking notes. On those days the audio recorder was particularly helpful. Attaining an emic, or insider, perspective was one of the goals of my research and required balancing the participant and observer roles.

Data Analysis Procedures

As Charmaz (2006) and Merriam (2009) suggested, I began data analysis during the data collection phase. I wrote memos about things I found interesting or wanted to remember. Weekly, I wrote a memo after reviewing my field notes and interview transcripts, looking for trends across classrooms and teachers. This helped me to develop a second observation guide (see Appendix C) that I used during observations in May in conjunction with the initial observation guide I had been using from the start. The second observation guide was the foundation for the instructional practices discussed in Chapter IV.

Once the data collection phase ended, I read through all the data various times and made notes on different themes that were emerging. I hung three blank posters, one each for the main research question and two sub-questions. I quickly added a fourth poster for concepts that didn't directly relate to the research questions but that were interesting and might be important. The sections in Chapter Four titled Contextual Factors that Influenced Instruction and DI Teachers as Advocates for Bilingualism and Home Language Maintenance were a result of this fourth poster. I delved into these sections after writing a first draft of Chapter Four and realizing the instructional practices did not

tell the whole story. This process is consistent with Patton's (2002) assertion that the researcher can use the data to answer the initial research questions, and s/he can also incorporate "analytic insight and interpretations that emerged during data collection" (p.437).

I wrote my research questions on poster paper and wrote emerging and frequently occurring themes from my data on post-its. I placed the post-its on the charts below the research question they best fit. I realized that I had a lot of data on instructional practices, but significantly less on transfer, and even less on reciprocity, as they were infrequently used in instruction. Looking at the instructional practices visually, it struck me that the practices that had been most prominent in my observations –songs/chants, choral repetition, choral response, choral reading, turn and talk, sentence stems, TPR, sentence development, instructional conversations about language, and vocabulary development– were great for language development but did not require students to think deeply. (Turn and talk could be used to foster deep thinking, but in general, I did not observe it used that way.)

The sheer amount of choral repetition and response in the data caused me to question the amount and depth of critical thinking I had witnessed in the classrooms. I re-read my field notes and wrote my first codes – LOTS (lower-order thinking skills), MOTS (medium-order thinking skills) and HOTS (higher-order thinking skills). Later, I realized that the lack of anything besides lower-order thinking skills, and the complete absence of higher-order thinking skills, made the three levels of analysis unnecessary, and I wrote about teachers' minimal use of critical thinking at all, rather than varying levels of it.

I then went back to the data and decided to organize it in a word table based on the second Observation Guide (Appendix C). Using the concept of "data reduction" (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p.10), I created a Microsoft Word table for each of the instructional strategies in my second Observation Guide (choral reading, choral repetition, etc.) with the following three headings: Teacher/date, Evidence, and Thoughts/comments/purpose (including LOTS/MOTS/HOTS and student independence). I had transcribed much of the classroom observation data in my field notes and used discourse analysis to examine teachers' language and classroom talk. Fairclough (1999) suggested discourse analysis be used in qualitative research to look at linguistic issues of control and domination, which are relevant to this study. Indeed, teachers tended to dominate classroom talk and, in some cases, tried to control the students' language.

I then reread the electronic version of my field notes and copied and pasted all the examples of the different instruction strategies used into the data reduction table. I quickly added the same tables in the same format for transfer, reciprocity, and "other/miscellaneous," as I was still open to new themes emerging. The process of going through my field notes and creating the word tables took a long time, but was extremely helpful when I was writing, as I could look in one place to find all the examples of a particular strategy and select the clearest examples to use in Chapter IV.

The table helped me to see which instructional strategies easily converged with others (Patton, 2002). For example, I combined the practices of sentence stems with prompting for language expansion under the heading, "Intentional Language Expansion." Similarly, I combined songs/chants, choral repetition, choral response and choral reading under the heading "Choral Practices." Creating the table also made me realize that while I

was separating the instructional practices from each other, in practice they were often used in conjunction with each other. For example, the teacher would provide and sentence stem and then ask the students to turn and talk and use the stem. I knew that the process of identifying and naming the individual practices was important, but equally important would be putting them back together in a natural, holistic manner to reflect how they were actually implemented in the classrooms.

After completing the table, I went back to a paper copy of my field notes and returned to coding. I had already coded for levels of thinking skills (LOTS, MOTS, HOTS). My next round of coding was focused on the instructional strategies (choral practices, intentional language expansion, etc.), transfer and reciprocity. Next, I slowly identified subcategories. In particular, I looked at the purposes of the instructional practices, or what the teacher accomplished by using them. For example, turn and talk was used for various purposes: sentence expansion, as preparation for writing, to share writing, to review a process, to recall, to practice something (other than language), and for engagement. Coding was an iterative process that involved multiple attempts. For a list of codes used please see Appendix D.

As I was coding the instructional strategies, I made notes about other ideas, and eventually developed codes for the type of language requested by the teacher, levels of student independence and "other." As previously mentioned, the "other" section eventually provided the context and interpretation that teachers were advocates for L1 maintenance and L2 development. Coding was not a linear process, but recursive and repetitive. I went back and re-coded whenever I determined that I wanted more

granularity on a particular topic, such as whether choral repetition was used at the word, phrase or sentence level.

Researchers are incapable of an unbiased knowledge of the topic we are studying, therefore we must take steps to increase the validity of the interpretations made from the data (Maxwell, 1992). To ensure theoretical validity I triangulated the data from interviews, observations, and student output (written and oral) and performed member checks with the participants throughout the study, asking for feedback on the concepts in development (Merriam, 2009; Patton, 2002). I also actively searched for confirming and disconfirming evidence. Finally, I closely monitored and carefully reported the data analysis procedures in order to make the research process as transparent as possible (Merriam, 2009). Careful coding of data and discourse analysis grounds the findings in the participants' language and point of view. This increases interpretive validity, or how well the researcher's interpretations pertain to the emic perspective (Maxwell, 1992).

Human Subjects Protection

This study followed all the standards and protocols set forth by the USF Institutional Review Board (IRB). Approval was granted on March 1, 2012. The school's principal and the participants signed consent forms. According to the University of San Francisco's IRB website, "Two main principles are involved in protecting research subjects: full disclosure of all aspects of the research process, and confidentiality of research data." The participants, principal, parents and students were given full disclosure of the research process when asked to sign the consent forms. Additionally, every step was taken to maintain the confidentiality of the school site and participants.

Background of the Researcher

Since the researcher is the lens through which the data is filtered in qualitative research, my background and perspective are relevant to the study (Creswell, 2009). Three of the four teachers in my study were Mexican nationals or first generation Mexican-Americans. As a white woman and non-native Spanish speaker, I needed to be self-reflective about the power relations between the participants and myself.

I was a primary DI (Spanish/English) teacher at JAA from 2003 to 2005. One of the teachers in this study, Claudia Ramos, was my partner teacher at the time. Inés Reyes was a respected colleague. Lauren Sandía and Isabel Gonzalez began working at the school after I left the classroom.

At JAA all of my students were students of color from low-income families, all except one were native Spanish speakers, and many were recent arrivals to the U.S. My students sparked my interest in serving and learning about this population. In 2007 I became a trainer of Reading Recovery teachers. I began training experienced teachers to be literacy experts and to work with the lowest performing first graders in the district according to kindergarten and first grade teachers as well as the Observation Survey of Early Literacy Achievement (Clay, 2006) and benchmark assessment results. Reading Recovery's goal is to accelerate those students to grade level so they will not need long-term intervention or special education services.

I quickly noticed that the literacy specialists were more successful with the native English speakers than with the ELs and I began investigating why. I observed hundreds of lessons and noticed students' behaviors and teachers' responses to those behaviors. I also read the relevant scholarly literature. Based on the observations and literature, I

hypothesized that teachers did not know how to teach language and literacy to ELs. They had a developing understanding of literacy, but were not able to view the students' literacy progress in conjunction with their language development and did not understand the impact of the sociocultural and linguistic environment on the students' learning.

Despite a heavy focus on meaning and comprehension throughout lessons, students were "word-calling" and not comprehending (Stanovich, 1993). Their decoding skills were bypassing their language skills, negatively impacting comprehension. Students' academic language was not developing as quickly as the literacy demands of the classroom required, and their language level was hindering their academic progress. Additionally, teachers did not identify students' language as a problem, either by itself or as related to the students' slower rate of literacy development. Nor did teachers know what to do from a pedagogical perspective when it was brought to their attention.

My experience as a DI teacher provided me with a different lens than some of the teachers who taught bilingual students in an English-only setting, a few of whom were Spanish/English bilinguals themselves. As a DI teacher I had facilitated intellectual discussions about books, civil rights and academic content in Spanish, and I had witnessed incredible growth in students in just one academic year. I had close relationships with students' families and knew that, contrary to some of my JAA colleagues' beliefs, students' families desperately wanted them to succeed in school, even though the adults often felt unwelcome or intimidated by the school. Most importantly, I knew the students had the ability to excel in school because I had witnessed it.

Despite having the same type of students, my colleagues who were not DI teachers had not had the positive experience of hearing how brilliant and intellectually

stimulated their students were in Spanish. They only heard beginning English and saw timid, hesitant children who often did not understand what the teacher was saying or what they were reading. I realized that my colleagues wanted to believe their students could learn, but after years of failing to help EL students make gains, they felt like failures. Some colleagues blamed the students rather than themselves; they did not believe EL students could learn. They did not have the knowledge, skills or belief system to instruct ELs successfully. In addition, this school district did not provide professional development that supported teachers' ability to instruct ELs. Instead, the district's professional development during the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) years was focused on how to teach the state-mandated language arts curriculum rather than how to teach students.

Observing teachers repeatedly over time and hearing them express their frustration with low rates of student progress, I became interested in researching how sociocultural theory, literacy and second language acquisition interact to impact students in hyper-segregated, high-poverty schools.

Ethical Considerations

I took appropriate measures to conform to IRB standards and ensure that data, site and participants remain confidential. No one was harmed in any way as a result of this study. One ethical consideration I anticipated was being asked by some teachers to give feedback on their teaching. I told them at the beginning that I would be in their classrooms as an observer, and would not be providing feedback or coaching. I was willing and available to help students with independent work and expressed my thanks to the teachers and their students many times.

A final ethical consideration might be related to the prior relationships I had with the teachers in this study. I discussed how our relationships impacted the interviews in the section on interviews. In general, the relationships were mutually respectful and beneficial, as I helped the teachers as much as possible while I was in their classrooms. I do not have ethical concerns about my relationships with the participating teachers.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

In this chapter I first explore several contextual factors that influenced teachers' behaviors, as they had a profound impact on instruction. Next, I share the data collected in response to the research questions, including the language development techniques teachers implemented in their classrooms, and how teachers employed transfer between languages and reciprocity among reading, writing, listening and speaking within one language. Finally, an additional finding of teachers' advocacy for bilingualism and primary language maintenance precedes a brief summary that concludes this chapter.

Contextual Factors that Influenced Instruction

A number of contextual factors influenced the teachers' pedagogy and attitude toward teaching in the DI program. For example, the site administrators and district office staff had certain requirements, district-wide, such as having a schedule, objectives, test-taking strategies and sentence stems on the classroom wall or whiteboard. Administrators performed "walk-throughs" with checklists to ensure that those things were in place. All the teachers expressed frustration with the administration's walk-throughs. Claudia said she felt like she was under a microscope, *"Entran y salen como si esto fuera un laboratorio. Aquí estamos siempre bajo un microscopio, como bichos, como bacterias"* ("They come in and leave as if this were a laboratory. Here we are, always under the microscope, like insects, like bacteria") (Claudia, Interview, March 27, 2012).

Despite their frustration, the teachers generally complied with administrators' superficial requirements, as they did not impact instruction. Claudia and Inés told me that

every year administrators focused on something different, typically unrelated to teaching and learning, and created new, time-consuming requirements for teachers (Claudia, Interview, March 27, 2012; Inés, Interview, April 30, 2012). In the 2010-2011 school year, the focus was ensuring that students from across the grades were being leveled for English Language Development (ELD), and *"la presión de este año"* ("this year's pressure") was sentence stems and objectives (Claudia, Interview, March 27, 2012). Inés said, "There is always something new. This year it is the sentence frames and the objectives" (Inés, Interview, April 30, 2012). However, it seems that the administrators did not pay much attention to the objectives and sentence stems posted on teachers' walls, because the teachers I observed had the same exact objectives, sentence stems and schedules on their walls from March through June. If the teachers had been using them for instruction, the students would not have learned anything new in three months.

While administrators were focused on classroom walls, less attention was being paid to other aspects of schooling, such as a coherent "program" for the DI program, and language-appropriate curriculum and assessment. The disorganization resulted in teachers feeling frustrated. For example, Claudia emailed me to reschedule an interview because the administration required her to be in three other places at that time: hall duty, a meeting with the principal, and another meeting with the academic dean (Personal communication, March 26, 2012).

Lack of a "Program" in JAA's DI Program

The disorganization also impacted students at JAA. For example, the prior school year there were two third grade classes for a total of 40 students. When entering fourth grade, however, ten of those students were moved from the DI program to an English-

only class because the single fourth grade DI class had only 28 spots. Parents complained, but students were not moved back into the DI program. Claudia said, "*No creo que esto suceda en otros distritos*" (I don't think this happens in other districts), implying that because the DI parents did not have sufficient political clout, decisions were made that were convenient for the school district rather than in the best interest of the students (Claudia, Interview, May 3, 2012). Claudia expressed frustration at the unpredictable nature of the DI program as well as with what she believed was the district's deception of the DI program's families.

The amount of time spent in each language was based on individual teachers' perceptions of what they thought was appropriate based on their personal knowledge of the 90/10 DI model. The kinder students, for example, received about 15 minutes of English instruction four times per week. This was not because that amounted to ten percent of the day, but because English was at the end of the day and everything else always took a little longer than it should have (Isabel, Interview, March 26, 2012). The second grade teachers were supposed to switch classes for English, but simply did not switch after Claudia's second grade class became a combination class, even though they informed the administration otherwise. The teachers were not sure how to extend the English time from 20 percent to 30 percent for only the five third graders (Claudia, Interview, March 27, 2012). The fourth grade class shifted to significantly more time in English in January, doing only math in Spanish. "The choices I made this year are sometimes based on language but sometimes based on testing," Lauren said when explaining how she divided time among languages (Lauren, Interview, March 26, 2012). Lauren's students had only one language arts block: in the fall it was in Spanish, starting

in January it was in English. Lauren realized how problematic this was in January when the fourth grade (English) writing test was only two months away yet students had not received writing instruction in English that year (Lauren, Interview, March 26, 2012).

Despite the fact that learning content – and language through content – is an important aspect of dual language programs, I only observed science being taught in the kinder and fourth grade classes and did not see social studies at all. The second/third grade combination class and the third grade class focused entirely on the mandated curriculum and/or test preparation for the English state achievement exam. The third grade class covered the language arts curriculum in both languages; the students read the English version of the anthology about a month after reading it in Spanish. Inés said that this aided students' English reading comprehension (Inés, Interview, April 30, 2012).

The curricular materials were problematic, both because the district had stopped purchasing student workbooks due to a tight budget and also because the Spanish textbooks were mediocre translations of English materials containing many errors. For example, Inés was supposed to use a different curriculum for English language arts, but she had only three books for a class of 25 students. Therefore, she used an English curriculum she was able to pull from a storage room (Inés, Interview, April 30, 2012). One curriculum-based Spanish language arts test referred to the main character as "Shorty" on the test, but "Bajito" in the textbook. Confused, students did not realize that Shorty and Bajito were the same character (Field notes, March 16, 2012). Moreover, on the same test, a question asked students to select the correct meaning of the underlined word, but then did not show an underlined word. When I commented on this, Inés said

both the curriculum-based tests and district benchmark assessments typically contained errors (Inés, Interview, April 30, 2012).

Additionally, at a certain point, the school's language arts benchmark tests suddenly changed from Spanish to English, surprising both the teachers and the students (Claudia, Interview, May 3, 2012). Frustrated by the fact that her students did not perform as well on the English version of the test and feeling that she was being judged by the results, Claudia said:

> *Se nos dice que tenemos que enfocarnos en la enseñanza del español, pero por otro lado se nos presiona con exámenes en inglés … Toda esa frustración, no tiene caso. O sea, falta de organización, no de nuestra parte de maestros, falta de organización a manera administración … Estamos aquí los maestros, no nos vamos, seguimos aquí, nos gusta el programa, estamos comprometidos, confiamos en él, tenemos un buen nivel de comunicación con los padres, con los alumnus, estamos aquí. Pero la administractión juega mucho con nosotros* (Claudia, Interview, May 3, 2012).
>
> They tell us that we have to focus on teaching Spanish, but on the other hand they pressure us with English assessments … All this frustration, there's no reason for it. Or, it's a lack of organization, not on the teachers' part, a lack of administrative organization … The teachers, we're here, we don't leave, we stay here, we like the program, we're committed, we trust in it [the program], we have a good level of communication with parents and students, we're here. But the administration plays with us a lot.

The mistrust between administration and teachers that Claudia referred to was a common theme throughout the study. Teachers were concerned that administrators' full attention was on compliance, budgets and testing issues, resulting in decisions that might not have been in the students' best interest.

The four DI teachers in this study did not feel that they had appropriate and sufficient materials, assessments, and support from site or district administration. Since they did not trust administrators to do what was best for students, the DI "program" was plagued by inconsistency. Each individual teacher did what she thought was best given

the available resources and her understanding of the DI model. The teachers understood that the administrators were under intense pressure to raise test scores, but the resulting benign neglect[13] of what mattered to the teachers, such as instruction, frustrated them and simultaneously provided them with an opportunity for autonomy despite NCLB mandates and frequent administrator walk-throughs.

The lack of trust among teachers and administrators caused feelings of insecurity, frustration and stress, and ultimately impacted teacher retention. Both teachers who could leave the school applied to other districts; Lauren was successful and left Jackson Avenue at the end of the school year. Inés and Claudia needed their work visas to stay in the U.S. and so did not apply to other positions. In the year since the study was completed, Claudia received her green card and was applying for teaching positions in DI programs in other districts.

Despite the organizational chaos, the teachers worked diligently to educate their students bilingually. Below I discuss the instructional strategies they used to develop oral language.

Research Question 1:

How Do Educators Facilitate ELs' Acquisition of Academic Language in Spanish and English?

Claudia, Lauren and Isabel provided numerous opportunities for students to talk during class time and engage with academic language in both Spanish and English but felt they struggled to teach academic language. Inés shared her struggle, saying, *"El lenguaje académico es más difícil porque para enseñar lectura y escritura tiene su*

[13] Thank you to Susan Katz, Ph.D. for coining the term "benign neglect" when reading a draft of this dissertation.

método" ("Academic language is the most difficult to teach because for teaching reading and writing one has a method") (Inés, Interview, March 19, 2012). Teachers felt they knew less about academic language and thus provided less structure when teaching it. They relied on a few core principles, such as scaffolding and active student participation. In fact, active student participation was a clear expectation. Students were consistently asked to participate chorally, during turn-and-talk, or during Initiation-Response-Feedback (IRF) exchanges with the teacher.

Claudia, Lauren and Isabel used many different strategies to incorporate student voice into their classroom. Below I detail a number of observed strategies and present them as separate, individual strategies in order to discuss each one and its role in language development. However, in doing so, I recognize that I have created false boundaries among the strategies, since most often the teachers used these practices simultaneously, in a coherent effort to get students to talk more. I hope that these examples and discussion will show how these strategies are indeed interconnected and how fluency with many of them is necessary to teach the varied aspects of learning language. Table 1 presents the frequency with which key language development strategies were observed in each classroom. The percentages reflect the number of times the strategy was observed, divided by the total number of observations.

Table 3

Percentage of Times Instructional Strategies were Evidenced During Classroom Observations.

	Isabel	Claudia	Lauren	Weighted Avg.
Choral Practices				
Songs / chants	60%	13%	9%	28%
Choral repetition	90%	50%	73%	72%
Choral response	90%	25%	64%	62%
Choral reading	40%	25%	73%	48%
Turn & Talk	90%	25%	55%	59%
Intentional Language Expansion (ILE)				
Sentence Stems	80%	25%	55%	55%
Prompting for ILE	70%	75%	36%	59%
Visuals, TPR, Realia	90%	63%	82%	79%
Explicit Instructional Conversations about Language (EICAL)	50%	88%	64%	66%
Writing	50%	75%	18%	45%

The strategies listed in Table 1 reflect the language development practices I most commonly observed during this study. I observed most of these strategies in over half of the classroom observations, but each teacher had her favorite practices. Songs and chants, for example, were a key strategy in Isabel's kindergarten class, but were used less frequently in the upper grade classes. Overall, visuals, TPR and realia was the most commonly observed practice, with choral repetition being a close second.

Choral Practices

> I really love choral everything because it keeps them all engaged…and it also gives them a chance to practice. You reach so many more kids with that than just cold-calling one kid. I just think it's a lot more productive for your time, and you're getting a lot more practice (Lauren, Interview, March 26, 2012).

Choral practices provided all students with an opportunity to practice using academic language. All students were expected to participate, so the level of student

engagement was high. Since all participated, no single student could be heard more than the others. Therefore, mistakes could be made without embarrassment and students' affective filters were lowered, as evidenced by their willing, enthusiastic participation. Choral practices provided a safe environment for students to try to pronounce new words, attempt new language structures, or read a text that may be more difficult than they could read independently. Students heard the language used by the teacher and peers and modeled their usage and pronunciation on the aural models. In this way, choral practices scaffolded higher-level vocabulary and syntax.

Four different choral practices were common: songs and chants, choral repetition, choral response and choral reading. Choral response and repetition were observed at the word, phrase and sentence level.

Songs and chants. Teachers used songs and chants for a number of purposes. Sometimes the purpose was for management or engagement, but other times teachers used songs and chants for language development, to help students remember facts or processes, and to reinforce important concepts.

In both the kinder and fourth grade classrooms, songs and chants were used as scaffolds to remember both facts and processes. For example, when Lauren was teaching about multiplying and dividing fractions, she used multiplication songs to help students remember multiplication facts in order to determine a common denominator (Field notes, March 6, 2012). The songs supported memory and enabled students to concentrate on the purpose of the lesson, which would not have been possible without the prerequisite knowledge of multiplication facts. The multiplication songs were also a scaffold to incorporate all students in the lesson; all students could learn to multiply and divide

fractions, not only those who knew their multiplication facts. Without being able to determine a common denominator, students would not have been able to continue with the lesson. Instead a verbal strategy was used to scaffold what otherwise would have been a prerequisite skill that prevented some students from learning the new concept.

Lauren, Isabel and Claudia also used songs and chants to help students remember or internalize a process. One example occurred during a writing lesson. The kinder students in Isabel's class chanted when they formed two-letter Spanish syllables: *"La 'm' con la 'a' dice 'ma;'"* and *"La 't' con la 'o' dice 'to,'"* (The 'm' and the 'a' says 'ma;' and "The 't' and the 'o' says 'to'") (Field notes, March 6, 2012). Since the name and sound of the vowel are the same in Spanish, they always rhyme. This same chant was used to spell *"yo,"* ("I") one of the most common words kinder students use in writing. This was used during modeled and interactive writing to help students learn the process for remembering how to write syllables until students' sound-symbol knowledge could further develop.

Finally, songs were used to reinforce complex concepts. Isabel's kinder students daily chanted and sang about the weather. They used a call-and-response chant and also sang a song, which changed slightly depending on the day's weather:

> *Hoy en día está soleado, está soleado, está soleado.*
> *Hoy en día está soleado, mañana cambiará*
> (Field notes, April 22, 2012).
>
> Today it is sunny, it is sunny, it is sunny
> Today it is sunny, tomorrow [the weather] will change.

This chant allowed students to verbally engage with the language related to weather and also served to reinforce the concept that weather changes daily, a California science standard for kindergarten.

Choral repetition. Choral repetition provided oral language opportunities in a safe environment. In the classrooms I observed, choral repetition was most commonly used to allow students to practice new vocabulary and language structures. Students were consistently asked to chorally repeat words, phrases and sentences that included academic language.

In the following example, Isabel was teaching and emphasizing key vocabulary that she wanted students to practice and remember. She was also using a visual to help students connect the words to their meaning. Isabel pointed to the chart as she spoke about each type of animal.

> *T: Emepezemos a hablar de los animales. Dijimos que los animales los separamos en groups, ¿Se acuerdan? Dijimos que el groupo de las **aves**, ¿De qué?*
> *T&Ss, en coro: Aves*
> *T: El groupo de los **insectos***
> *Ss, en coro: de los insectos*
> *T: de los **peces***
> *Ss, en coro: de los peces*
> *T: y los **mamíforos***
> *Ss, en coro: y los mamíforos*
> *T: y los **reptiles***
> *Ss, en coro: y los reptiles*
> (Field notes, March 27, 2012).

> *T: We started talking about animals. We said that we separate animals into groups, remember? We said the **bird** group, which group?*
> *T&Ss chorally: birds*
> *T: the **insects***
> *T&Ss chorally: the insects*
> *T: the **fish***
> *T&Ss chorally: the fish*
> *T: And the **mammals***
> *T&Ss chorally: and the mammals*
> *T: and the **reptiles***
> *S: and the reptiles.*

Isabel required her kinder students to practice saying the key vocabulary words as she pointed to pictures of each animal group. The students used oral, visual and auditory prompts to remember the new science vocabulary.

While the focus of Isabel's choral repetition was vocabulary, Lauren used it as a scaffold to extend her fourth grade students' sentences and to help them remember content. In this example she first asked them to repeat a definition in phrases, and then in its entirety:

> T: Ancestors are the people who came before us. Say 'ancestors' with me.
> Ss, chorally: ancestors
> T: clap the syllables
> Ss, chorally: (clap syllables) an-ces-tors, three
> T: repeat after me, "ancestors
> Ss, chorally: ancestors
> T: are the people
> Ss, chorally: are the people
> T: who came before us
> Ss, chorally: who came before us
> T: all together
> T & Ss, chorally: Ancestors are the people who came before us
> (Field notes, April 17, 2012).

Lauren's students practiced saying the vocabulary word and used it in context. This process was highly scaffolded, as the students were asked to say one word, then a few words, and finally the entire sentence. She also had them break "ancestors" into syllables so that students could hear all its component parts. At the time, Lauren had just received a new student from Guatemala and may have been using especially high levels of scaffolding to support his integration into the classroom. This example shows all three types of choral repetition observed: the word, phrase and sentence levels.

Choral response. Choral response differed from choral repetition because the students were chorally responding to a question rather than repeating the teacher.

Students who did not know the answer to the question might not have been able to participate, or might have joined in on cues from the other students.

Like choral repetition, Claudia, Lauren and Isabel often used choral response to practice academic language in a safe environment, at the levels of word, phrase and sentence. In the following example, Lauren asked her fourth graders a question about fractions and pointed to the denominator to provide visual support:

> *T: ¿A dónde nos tiene que fijar primero?*
> *Ss, en coro: Al denominador*
> (Field notes, March 6, 2012).

> T: Where do we have to look first?
> Ss, chorally: at the denominator.

Lauren wanted the students to practice saying *denominador* (denominator) so that they would learn the academic term and not refer to the denominator as simply the number at the bottom of the fraction. She was teaching both the word and the process simultaneously.

As with any other instructional strategy, teacher expectations for how students behave and participate are important for choral responses and repetition to be valuable. I witnessed Inés struggle to use choral response. The students were unengaged, and Inés did not hold them responsible for participating. The following excerpt from my field notes describes what happened during Inés's math test preparation lesson:

> At some point the teacher moves to expecting choral responses for yes / no answers and for counting the number of sides of shapes on a worksheet. Only a few kids participate. The group in the back is entirely off task, as are many other students.
> (Field notes, April 10, 2012).

The students did not answer Inés's questions chorally. The great majority of students did not participate. In addition, the language the teacher asked for –yes / no, and counting the

sides of shapes– was simplistic. Therefore, the *purpose* of asking students to respond chorally was not to develop language but to increase engagement. This difference is important as we consider how to develop intentional, strategic oral language development instruction.

Choral reading. Choral reading allowed students to read in unison with their peers, relieving individuals of the pressure to make every word and phrase sound right. ELs may not know what certain words or phrases are supposed to sound like, particularly in English, as it is not an entirely phonetic language. Choral reading also allowed students to hear what fluent, accurate reading sounds like, and the scaffold of many other voices permitted students to read texts that may have been above their independent reading levels, much like shared reading[14].

In this study, Isabel (kinder) and Lauren (fourth grade) used choral reading often. For example, after transitioning from the Spanish to the English language anthology during the winter, Lauren and her students chorally read some of the anthology selections. One selection from the fourth grade textbook, an excerpt from *The Diary of Anne Frank*, was a mid-sixth grade text with a lexile level of 1080, according to Scholastic[15]. This lexile level correlates to sixth through eighth grade according to the Common Core State Standards (Common Core State Standards, Appendix A, 2010). This text would likely have been too difficult for many of Lauren's students to read independently, so she used choral reading to scaffold the text (Field notes, April 17, 2012).

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[14] The primary difference between shared and choral reading is in the purpose of the instructional strategy. Shared reading is intended to support literacy, while choral reading primarily supports language and content learning (Swartz, Shook & Klein, 2002). However, the practices often look similar when implemented, and it could easily be argued that shared and choral reading support both language and literacy.

[15] http://www.scholastic.com/teachers/book/anne-frank-diary-young-girl

Another purpose for choral reading was to remind students of classroom expectations by revisiting shared texts that were often posted on classroom walls. For example, in Claudia's class the students chorally read the "*Rúbrica de revisión y corrección*" ("Revision and correction rubric") after they completed the dictation exercise to ensure that their writing was polished as possible (Field notes, March 23, 2012). The rubric included features like end punctuation, spelling, capital letters, etc., and students self-corrected their work based on the rubric. Therefore the rubric was a form of self-monitoring, and the choral reading of the rubric was a way for teachers to help students remember the contents of the rubric, as reading and repeating a text multiple times should aid memory.

A second example of choral reading being used to help students remember occurred in the fourth grade class. When the students were working on fractions in math, they chorally read rules about comparing fractions with the same denominator from an anchor chart. For example, Lauren asked them to chorally read, "*Cuando mayor es el numerador, mayor es la fracción*" ("When the numerator is greater, the fraction is greater") (Field notes, March 6, 2012). Reading the rules over and over helped students begin to internalize them, as external language became internal language (Vygotsky, 1986). When students forgot the rule, they knew to look at the anchor chart. This helped students to be self-sufficient, independent learners. The anchor charts and choral readings of the anchor charts were scaffolds as students approached independence with the concepts.

All four teachers also used choral reading to draw attention to text that students might not read on their own, such as directions. Inés lamented that students did not read

directions on tests, and therefore selected the synonym rather than "the word that does NOT mean the same as the underlined word," for example (Inés, Interview, April 10, 2012). In Inés's class, where significant amounts of test prep occurred, students chorally read the directions on the workbook or test prep page (Field notes, April 10, 2012). Drawing attention to the directions this way ensured that students read them, or heard others reading them, rather than skip over them entirely.

Choral reading was also used to draw students' attention to certain aspects of language. For example, in the dialogue in Appendix D, Lauren asked the students to chorally read a comparison paragraph she wrote as a model. Lauren showed the students how she took bulleted notes from a graphic organizer, her Venn diagram, and turned the bullets into a paragraph. This task was challenging for the students, as flexibility with signal words was necessary. Lauren's explicit linguistic instruction helped ELs to show what they knew in writing. Lauren reviewed her topic sentence and showed that it did not include details. She then explained that she used words like "both" and "and" to show similarities. Finally, she related the concluding sentence back to the topic sentence, or main idea (Field notes, March 28, 2012). While this example could be considered too highly structured and not allowing students to use their creativity, it also very explicitly taught students how to write a standard, five-sentence paragraph with a topic sentence, three details and a concluding sentence. Lauren had evidence that her students did not know how to do this, yet she recognized that they would need to master it as they progressed through school.

Turn and Talk

Turn and talk is a participation structure in which students are expected to face a partner and converse about a specific prompt, most often provided by the teacher. Lauren and Isabel used turn and talk as a way for students to participate, practice using academic language, and share what they knew or had learned, while simultaneously developing oral language. At the most basic level, turn and talk was used to allow students to practice using academic language. For example, Lauren provided a very specific sentence stem that she wanted students to use to answer a math question:

> T: *Usando esa oracion, "La longitud de este segmento de recta es," digan la respuesta a tu pareja*
> (Field notes, March 20, 2012).
>
> T: Using the sentence, "The length of this line segment is," tell your partner the answer.

Students had solved a math problem on individual whiteboards and were now practicing talking about the math content with a peer. Lauren explained that she intentionally used turn and talk to have students use academic language. She said, "With the turn and talks, I think that it's a great way for them to practice structures, right after we've practiced them all together and a chance for them to verbalize what they're learning, because when you talk about it, you cement it better in your mind" (Lauren, Interview, March 26, 2012). Talking to a partner served the dual purpose of practicing academic language and solidifying new content.

Teachers also used turn and talk to scaffold student writing by asking students to tell a partner what they were planning to write. In Isabel's kinder classroom the students wrote daily news, and every day they orally shared their sentence(s) with a partner before writing. Turn and talk was used as a scaffold for writing and was paired with a sentence

stem that the students had internalized. They almost all started their oral sentence with "*Mis noticias son*…" *(*"My news is…") (Field notes, March 6, 2013). By having students articulate what they were going to write, Isabel avoided the common excuse, 'I don't know what to write.' Before getting their journals and pencils, all students had to share their "daily news" with a partner and therefore knew what they were going to write. Turning and talking also provided the young students with the opportunity for teacher-sanctioned talk time, the importance of which no kindergarten teacher would ever underestimate.

Isabel and Lauren often combined turn and talk with oral sentence stems. During a lesson on the four seasons, Isabel asked her kinder students to use turn and talk in conjunction with sentence stems:

> T: What happens during summer? Tell you partner what happens during summer. Tell them, during summer… [Students turn & talk]
> T [to a specific pair of students]: I want to see you turning to your partner and sharing like them. [To the whole class] What happens during summer?
> S: You go to the beach.
> T: You go to the beach because it's hot, it's very hot, and then comes … [T does arm movements (TPR) to show fall.]
> Ss, chorally: Fall! ….
> T: tell your partner, 'during fall,' what happens during fall? Tell them. [Students turn & talk.]
> T: Eric, what happens during fall?
> S: The flowers die
> (Field notes, March 22, 2012).

This example shows the use of turn and talk with sentence stems, as well as choral response ("Fall!"). While many of the students used the oral sentence stems Isabel provided during the turn and talk, the students she called on did not use it when answering in front of the whole class. They did, however, respond appropriately to her question. The responses, "You go to the beach" and "The flowers die," were both

complete, albeit simple, sentences and appropriate responses to the questions asked. Isabel did not ask the students to restate their responses using the stem she provided, choosing instead to proceed with the lesson.

Lauren used turn and talk in a more sophisticated way in her fourth grade class. Her prompts often required the students to explain a process, solve a problem, or interact with the content in some way. For example, Lauren asked students to think about three important aspects of writing a comparison paragraph and discuss them with their partner (Field notes, March 28, 2012). During another lesson, Lauren asked the students to talk to each other about another process they were learning, comparing fractions. She said, *"Le va a explicar a tu pareja cuál de las fracciones es major y por que. Puedes probar la respuesta con un dibujo"* ("You're going to explain to your partner which is the greater fraction and why. You can show your answer with a picture") (Field notes, March 6, 2012). These process-oriented prompts required the students to metacognitively state how they solved a problem or explain how they would do something in the future. Both students in the pair benefited from the response, as the speaker clarified her thinking about the process, and the listener had it explained to her by a peer in kid-friendly terms.

Lauren often had visuals, realia and/or total physical response (TPR) to support students when they turned and talked. One day she asked students to tell their partner what they must do to compare fractions. One student had to read from the anchor chart Lauren had been using (Field notes, March 6, 2012). The chart acted as a scaffold for content, language or both. Without it, the student might not have been able to participate.

Inés (third grade) and Claudia (second/third combination class), who experienced their teacher training and most of their teaching careers in Spain and Mexico, respectively,

did not use turn and talk often. Claudia used turn and talk once during her observation for her annual evaluation, however, it was clearly not a common participation routine. Some students did not share at all, and others simply repeated the ideas that Claudia had already said. Claudia asked the students to turn to a partner and identify a word and its synonym. She then called on a student to share whole-group:

> T [to a student]: *¿Qué dijo tu pareja?*
> S1: *¡No dijo nada!*
> T [scolding S1's partner]: *¡Tú tienes que participar!*
> (Field notes, March 12, 2012).

> T [to a student]: What did your partner say?
> S1: He didn't say anything!
> T [scolding S1's partner]: You have to participate!

Claudia then called on other students, and they all gave examples that Claudia had recently used in class. The turn and talk did not deepen students' learning; no new thinking was apparent. The procedures and expectations for turn and talk were not clear to the students. In this case, the strategy was not productive because it did not deepen students' learning or provide an opportunity for them to use academic language. Students had not been taught that talking to a partner could help them clarify their ideas as well learn from a peer.

Intentional Language Expansion

Intentional language expansion occurred when Claudia, Lauren and Isabel intentionally tried to expand students' utterances. They did this in two primary ways: using sentence stems and prompting students to expand what they said.

Sentence Stems. Sentence stems were typically used as a scaffold to help students begin a sentence and use a complete sentence rather than a fragment. Stems were used in a variety of content areas to "allow them [students] to express their ideas in a

more sophisticated way," and were occasionally differentiated for various levels of language learners (Lauren, Interview, March 26, 2012).

Some stems, however, became a law rather than a scaffold. In Isabel's kinder classroom, for example, student had been exposed to the sentence stem, "*Mis noticias son*," ("My news is") since the first week of school when they began writing daily news. In March, and even in May, Isabel continued to remind students to use the stem. Students didn't seem to know how to talk about their daily news in any other way (Field notes, March 6, 2012, April 17, 2012). This particular stem may have served as a linguistic handcuff rather than a support for students to be flexible with language or attempt to use new language they are learning, which seemed contrary to the purpose of using sentence stems.

Sentence-stems-as-law was not exclusive to Isabel. Mandated by the district office, the principal required teachers to use sentence stems, so stems were written on whiteboards and hung around the classrooms. The sentence stems on the walls, however, were exclusively for compliance, as the only time I saw one used was when I observed a lesson in which an administrator was evaluating Claudia (Field notes, March 12, 2012). The 'decorative' stems never changed in the three months I visited classrooms despite the purpose of sentence stems, which was to scaffold students' oral language for a short time until the language is internalized and students can either use it independently or use other language to communicate what they want to say.

Although none of the teachers or students used the sentence stems, Claudia, Lauren and Isabel frequently used oral sentence stems, and occasionally included written sentence stems for specific lessons. They seemed to see the value in the practice, but

resented being required to have the stems take prime real estate on classroom walls (Claudia, Interview, March 27, 2012; Inés, Interview, April 30, 2012). All three teachers occasionally pre-planned and posted written stems for students to see and use, but they frequently used verbal stems.

Students in each class had very diverse linguistic skills and knowledge in both Spanish and English, so one sentence stem often was not appropriate for all, or even most of the students in any class. When the stem was too easy, or below a student's "zone of proximal development" (ZPD), it was unnecessary and might even inhibit the student from using more complex language (Vygotsky, 1978, p.86). When the stem was too complex, it sometimes confused students and interfered with, rather than supported, oral communication. For example, in the dialogue below between Claudia and her students, the complex stem she provided served to eradicate student participation rather than support it:

> *T: ¿Cuáles son las oraciones declaratives?*
> [Ss shout out varying responses]
> *T: Cuando yo pregunto "¿Qué son las oraciones declatatives?" ustedes me contestan, "las oraciones declaratives son aquellas que…"*
> Ss: [Silence]
> (Field notes, March 23, 2012).

> T: What are declarative sentences?
> [Ss shout our varying responses]
> T: When I ask, "What are declarative sentences?" you reply, "Declarative sentences are those which…"
> Ss: [Silence]

In this example the students chose to participate until the teacher mandated a specific way for them to do so. Based on the students' reaction, the stem was likely too complex for them. The sentence Claudia provided was a level four out of five on Lance Gentile's Oral

Language Acquisition Inventory[16] (2003), two phrases or clauses linked by a relative pronoun. This stem required students to understand what *"aquellas que"* (those which) referred to and then be able to complete the sentence appropriately.

Additionally, some sentence stems interfered with conversation even when they were not overly complex. In the following example from the kinder class, Isabel wanted the student to use a complete sentence beginning with the stem "Yo veo" ("I see"). However, requiring the student to use the stem seemed to confuse him:

> *T* (Chooses equity stick): *¿Cuántos centavos hay?*
> *S: Cuatro.*
> *T: ¿Cuatro qué? Di, "Yo veo…"*
> *S: Yo veo* [Stops. Silence.]
> *T: Contamos*
> *Ss, en coro: Uno, dos tres, cuatro*
> *T: ¿Cuántos centavos hay?*
> *Ss, en coro: Cuatro*
> *T: Cuatro* ***centavos*** (some students echo this)
> (Field notes, March 14, 2012).

> T (Chooses equity stick): How many pennies are there?
> S: Four
> T: Four what? Say, "I see…"
> S: I see [Stops. Silence.]
> T: Let's count.
> Ss, chorally: One, two, three, four.
> T: How many pennies are there?
> Ss, chorally: Four!
> T: Four **pennies** (some students echo this).

While this stem was probably not overly complex for this Spanish-speaking student, it stopped him in his tracks. Maybe he forgot what he had said ("four"), or maybe he was confused by what he was being asked. While we are unable to determine what happened

[16] Note that Gentile's OLAI is an English assessment, but the structure translates directly to Spanish. I am not aware of a Spanish equivalent to the OLAI. Also note that the student was a native Spanish speaker. This reinforces the need to intentionally, strategically develop language in students L1 as well as in their L2.

in the child's brain in that moment, the teacher's insistence on the use of the sentence stem stalled the conversation rather than supporting it.

In contrast to this, in the following example Lauren scaffolded a difficult stem well and supported the student to use academic language:

> *T: ¿Cuál tienen en común, el número de la coordenada X, o el número de la coordenada Y? Quiero que me digas, "los 2 tienen en común la cooredenada."*
> [Teacher selects a student]
> *S: Los dos tienen en #*
> *T= común*
> *S: =común, el, # la coordinada X*
> *T: Muy bien, la coordinada X*
> (Field notes, March 20, 2012).

> T: Which do they have in common, the X coordinate or the Y coordinate? I want you to tell me "They both have in common the __ coordinate." [Teacher selects a student]
> S: The two have in #
> T: =common
> S: =common, the, #, the X coordinate.
> T: Very good, the X coordinate.

The stem was slightly challenging for the student, as evidenced by his need for help with the word *común* (common), but Lauren supported his use of the stem because acquiring this language was necessary for understanding the content she was teaching. The student said the difficult word at almost the same time as the teacher, so the stem was likely within his ZPD. In this instance both math and language were being developed simultaneously.

Prompting for intentional language expansion (ILE). ILE differs from sentence stems because it is typically not planned, as teachers cannot anticipate what students will say. ILE is responsive to students' utterances, as well as teachers' expectations for oral output. Therefore, ILE can and should be even more highly individualized than sentence stems.

Intentional Language Expansion (ILE) occurred when teachers prompted students to elaborate on what they were saying, or elongated their utterance. ILE was evidenced frequently during the daily dictation exercise in Claudia's second/third grade combination class (e.g., Field notes, March 23, 2012). During dictation, students wrote a unique sentence using one of their vocabulary words for the week. Claudia said that she gradually released the creation of the sentences to the students (Claudia, Interview, March 27, 2012). She modeled it for the first few months of school, and then slowly asked students to develop the sentences the class wrote in the dictation. I saw evidence of this during the time I was there. In March, Claudia provided students with the first five sentences and asked them to create sentences with the last five words. By May, the students were developing all the sentences and the teacher increased the level of difficulty by asking for different types of sentences such as interrogative and declarative.

In the next example, Claudia asked a student to use *corriendo* (*running*) in a sentence for the dictation. (The students were working on "-iendo" and "-ando" words that week per the mandated curriculum.)

> *S: Ese niño está corriendo.*
> *T: ¿Por dónde está corriendo el niño?*
> *S: Ese niño está corriendo por el parque.*
> *T: ¿Y qué tipo de niño?*
> *S: Ese niño alto está corriendo por el parque.*
> *T: ¿Y cómo se llama?*
> *S: Ese niño alto=*
> *T: =llamado*
> *S: llamado # Victor.*
> *T: OK, dinos todos la oracion por favor.*
> *S: Ese niño, ese niño alto llamado Victor está corriendo en el parque.*
> Teacher repeats slowly for the students to write the sentence
> (Field notes, March 23, 2012).

> S: This boy is running.
> T: Where is he running?

S: This boy is running in the park.
T: And what type of boy?
S: This tall boy is running in the park.
T: And what's his name?
S: This tall boy #
T: =llamado
S: =llamado Victor
T: OK, tell us the whole sentence please.
S: This tall boy named Victor is running in the park.
Teacher repeats slowly for the students to write the sentence.

On the first try, the student used a simple sentence - a level one sentence according to Gentile's (2003) OLAI. Claudia, knowing the student's linguistic ability was higher than his initial sentence evidenced, prompted first for "where?" The student then added the prepositional phrase "in the park," increasing the sentence's complexity to a level two sentence per the OLAI. The teacher then asked for a detail about the character in the sentence and was told he was tall: an adjective was added to the sentence. When asked for his name, the student added an adjective phrase "*llamado Victor*" (called Victor). The final sentence "*Ese niño alto llamado Victor está corriendo en el parque*" (This tall boy called Victor is running in the park) is significantly more complex than the student's initial sentence, and the utterance length increased from four words to ten words.

ILE was used across the grade levels, as a similar example from the kindergarten class shows. In this example Isabel asked for more details to expand the students' writing. Every day she required the students to orally rehearse what they were planning to write, and then asked them to write what they said. Prompting for more details in this context expanded both written and oral language.

S: Mis noticias son que fui al parque y jugué.
T: ¿Puedes decir más detalles? ¿A que jugaste?
S: Tag
T: OK, mis noticias son, yo fui al parque y jugué tag.
T & Ss, chorally and slowly: Yo fui al parque y jugué tag.

T: ¿Puedes dar mas detalles, María? ¿Con quién jugaste tag?
S: Con mi hermano.
T& Ss, chorally: Yo fui al parque y jugué tag con mi hermano
(Field notes, April 12, 2012).

S: My news is that I went to the park and played.
T: Can you give more details? What did you play?
S: Tag
T: OK, my news is that I went to the park and played tag.
T & Ss, chorally and slowly: I went to the park and played tag.
T: Can you give more details, Maria? With whom did you play tag?
S: With my brother
T&Ss chorally: I went to the park and played tag with my brother.

The initial sentence the student provided, "*Mis noticias son que fui al parque y jugué*," ("My news is that I went to the park and played") included the overused sentence stem *"Mis noticias son"* ("My news is") and the core of the sentence was only five words, "*Fui al parque y jugué* " (I went to the park and played). Isabel first asked what game the student played at the park. (The answer is "tag," which did not get translated into Spanish.) Then she asked for more details. When the student did not immediately reply, Isabel asked for a particular detail, and the final sentence grew to ten words. Here we see that the prompts the teacher used were important for ILE. Isabel's initial prompt for more details did not get the desired result. She quickly asked a more specific question -- who the student played with – and the student was able to add a prepositional phrase to the sentence ("*con mi hermano,*" "with my brother"). In this study, teachers' prompts for ILE were both contextualized and appropriate for the individual students.

ILE and sentence stems shared the general purpose of expanding students' oral and/or written language, but did so in slightly different ways. Both were used to model language for other students, but both ILE and stems often took time as teachers and students waited for a single student to speak. (Exceptions were the use of sentence stems

and ILE during turn and talk or in individual conferences, in which case the practices were not being used to model language for other students). Isabel, however, had the whole class chorally repeat the sentence each time the speaker added to it. In that example, ILE was used in conjunction with choral repetition to provide an opportunity for all students to practice the expanded sentence structure.

Visuals, Total Physical Response (TPR) and Realia as Language Scaffolds

Teachers used visuals, TPR and realia as language scaffolds. Students could refer back to the visual or realia to help them remember the associated language. Similarly, both teachers and students used TPR to help students remember language, especially vocabulary words.

For example, in the fourth grade class Lauren had made a poster-sized anchor chart about comparing fractions. The students chorally read the rules from the chart. Then, when students were asked to turn to their partner and explain the rules for comparing fractions, at least one student referred back to the chart to accomplish the task. The content, the language or both were difficult for him, but the chart provided a scaffold to help him be successful (Field notes, March 6, 2012).

Lauren also used arm signals to teach and review math vocabulary such as horizontal, vertical, area, perimeter, obtuse acute and right angles, as well as parallel and perpendicular lines (Field notes, March 20, 2012; March 28, 2012; April 10, 2012). The TPR signals were used to prompt students to say the words chorally, as well as a scaffold when students were asked questions individually and had trouble responding.

Isabel used TPR in the same way in her kinder class, in both Spanish and English. For example, during an English lesson on Spring, the words buds, flowers, bloom, hatch

all had TPR movements to support the learners. During a Spanish lesson on things birds need to survive, vocabulary (*aire, refugio, agua, alimento y comida*) (air, shelter, water, and food) was again supported with TPR (Field notes, March 27, 2012).

Realia was similarly used as a scaffold for vocabulary. For example, during a Spanish lesson on compound words, Claudia brought in a number of items to help students identify compound words that they already might have known, as they were common household items, including: a superhero (*superhéroe*), glasses (*anteojos*), a picture frame (*portaretrato*), a potato peeler (*pelapapas*), stain remover (*quitamanchas*), paper holder (*pisapapel*), nail cutter (*cortauñas*) and corkscrew (*sacacorchos*) (Field notes, March 6, 2012). Some of the words were new to some of the students (*pisapapel, sacacorchos*) (paperweight, corkscrew), but most were words the students already knew yet did not identify as compound words. The realia helped to cement the concept of compound words in the students' minds.

Less frequently TPR, visuals or realia were used to teach about language beyond vocabulary. Lauren, for example, used TPR to show how two simple sentences were joined into one longer sentence by using the conjunction "or." She signaled that each forearm from the elbow to the hand was a sentence, and clasped her hands together to show that "or" joined two independent sentences to make a single sentence (Field notes, March 12, 2012). This brief moment of instruction was done in conjunction with three other oral language development practices: 1) the students chorally read the two independent sentences and the conjoined sentence, 2) the students chorally answered the teacher's questions, and 3) Lauren used an explicit instructional conversation about language (EICAL).

Explicit Instructional Conversations About Language (EICAL)

This category of instructional strategies is a bit of a catch-all, as it includes a wide range of language teaching. Topics of EICAL conversations included morphology, vocabulary, grammar, syntax, pragmatics, synonyms, antonyms and homophones, words with multiple meanings, and other linguistic concepts. The commonality among EICAL teaching was that teachers used conversations to explicitly draw students' attention to an aspect of language. For example, they asked for a definition of a vocabulary word, provided a synonym or antonym for a word, discussed multiple meanings a word might have, and defined a word based on its morphology. EICALs helped students to be metacognitive about language by bringing it to the forefront of their thinking.

EICAL was also a form of linguistic apprenticeship in Claudia's second- and third grade combination class. She explained that students would, "*Emepzar a pensar como yo pienso*" ("Begin to think like I think") and imitate her consistent modeling of talking about words, synonyms, antonyms, how to make sentences interesting, etc. (Interview, May 3, 2012). She said that she tried to "*Presionarles más para que ellos mismos piensen y busquen la palabra que puede significar lo mismo, que le pueda dar un matiz más interesante a su oración, y [para que] se den cuenta de la riqueza que tiene cada idioma"* (Pressure them more so that they think and look for the word that means the same, that can make their sentence more interesting and [so] they realize the richness that each language has) (Claudia, Interview, May 3, 2012).

Claudia loved languages, especially Spanish, and she tried to communicate that passion for language to her students. In fact, students showed evidence of learning to think about language like Claudia. Students frequently suggested synonyms or antonyms

for words, or identified compound words (Field notes, March 12, 2012; April 13, 2012; April 18, 2012; April 26, 2012). For example, when Claudia asked for a definition of *contradicción (*contradiction*)*, one student offered, "*Alguién que no habla bien?"* ("Someone who doesn't speak well?"). The student used what he knew about *contra* (contra) and *dicción* (diction) to develop a logical, albeit incorrect, guess (Field notes, April 13, 2012). Claudia's constant modeling of thinking about language was evidenced in the student's attempt at defining a difficult word.

While all three teachers implemented EICAL, Claudia did so more than others. In fact, Claudia employed EICAL multiple times during each observation. She modeled thinking about language with each EICAL, and often used EICALs to correct students' language use. For example, during a dictation lesson focused on words that end in *–ido* and *–ado*, Claudia learned that, regardless of their ability to spell these words, a few of her students did not know how to use them in speech. Students were misusing or leaving out the helping verb, as in the two examples below:

> *S: Yo ha*
> *T: No puede decir "yo ha recogido." Yo "**he**" recogido. Yo he recogido una basura del piso. O del suelo, son sinónimos*
> (Field notes, March 23, 2012).

> S: I has
> T: You can't say "I has picked up." I **have** picked up. I have picked up garbage from the ground. Or from the floor, they're synonyms.

> *S: Yo arreglé*
> *T: No, la palabra no es arreglé, es **arreglado***
> *S: Yo arreglado*
> *T: Yo **he***
> *S: Yo <u>he arreglado</u> mi cuarto*
> (Field notes, March 23, 2012).

> The English translation does not work here, because "fixed" in English is appropriate for both the past tense and the present perfect tense. In Spanish the

> words are different (arreglé and arreglado, respectively), and the student struggles to use the present perfect tense (arreglado) appropriately.

In both examples, Claudia corrected the students but did not explain the correction to the students, so it is unclear whether or not they would be able to generalize the correction and convert it into "learning" that they could use in the future.

This example emphasizes the need for Spanish language development, as well as English language development, in hyper-segregated schools such as Jackson Avenue Academy. Students are children and their language is not fully developed, even in the home language. Clay (2004) explicitly stated that language develops over time, throughout a person's life: "Discovering how to vary language, how to rearrange the bits, how to capture a new phrase and use it to the point of tedium are all part of language learning from the preschool years throughout life" (p.7). Therefore, Spanish language development, even in a hyper-segregated context, was important for students to cultivate their bilingualism and biliteracy.

This need for Spanish language development was evidenced throughout the data. For example, in a single, hour-long observation, Claudia conducted multiple EICALs with her students, regarding: the difference between "*porque*" (because) and "*por qué?*" (why?), the multiple meanings of the word "*selección*" (selection), multiple ways to ask someone to speak more loudly *("habla recio, fuerte, con volumen de voz alta")* (speak up, loudly, with a high volume), and how to transform a declarative sentence into an interrogative one (Field notes, April 13, 2012).

Following their teacher's lead, Claudia's students noticed and talked about language. They learned to be metacognitive about language and often interrupted Claudia to provide their own EICAL. One day during a review of compound words, Claudia was

scolding a child for behaving immaturely, and she mentioned that she was running a second and third grade classroom – not a daycare center. One of the other students noticed immediately that the word "daycare" was a compound word.

> *T: ¡No es un guardaniños, es una escuela!*
> *Another student (enthusiastically): ¡Guardaniños*! [The student had identified the fact that daycare is a compound word in Spanish.]
> *T: Si, guadaniños es una palabra compuesta*
> (Field notes, March 12, 2012).

> T: This isn't a daycare, it's a school!
> Another student (enthusiastically): Daycare! [The student had identified the fact that daycare is a compound word in Spanish.]
> T: Yes, daycare is a compound word.

Claudia's students were independently noticing features about language that would help them use and understand it. For example, knowing that "daycare" was a compound word helped students to (a) learn the word, (b) learn what compound words are and how they word, and (c) learn to figure out what other compound words mean, based on (a) and (b).

Even when they were talking amongst themselves, students were still on topic, discussing compound words and talking through their understanding of them. Two second grade boys had the following exchange:

> *S1: ¡Muchas palabras! Distracción, desenfoque,* [begins making up words] *quitaojos, este #, mataojos* [giggles].
> *S2: ¡Ésta es una nueva palabra compuesta, mataojos*! [giggles]
> (Claudia, Field notes, April 13, 2012)

> S: So many words! Distraction, unfocused, [begins making up words] eye-remover, um, # eyekiller [giggles]
> S2: That's a new compound word! Eyekiller! [giggles]

The boys took the concept of compound words –two words combined to make a new word that is descriptive of its meaning— and created a new one, "*mataojos*" (eyekiller), as they pretended to stab themselves in the eye with their pencils. The boys took their

new learning and applied it to their lives and interests. Application and creation are higher order thinking skills according to the revised version of Bloom's Taxonomy by Anderson et al. (2000), and were rare in the data.

This point raises the question: Are EICALs one way to incorporate greater amounts of higher order thinking skills in DI classes? Does metacognition support multilingualism by better enabling students to comparing linguistic systems (vocabulary, syntax, etc.) and use what they know in one to support learning in the other? I further explore these questions in Chapter V.

Writing

Writing was used to develop language in a variety of ways. First, it was the primary way that reciprocity was observed in the classrooms, even if the reciprocity was not explicit. In general, all three classrooms practiced transforming oral language to written language daily. Isabel's kinder class wrote daily news every day and orally rehearsed writing, both whole class and in pairs; Claudia's second and third grade combination class did a daily dictation exercise which included the students and/or teacher dictating oral sentences for students to transcribe; and Lauren consistently asked her fourth grade students to orally rehearse what they were going to write. Turn and talk was also used in the kinder and fourth grade classrooms for students to orally rehearse what they were going to write. Interestingly, I observed very few instances of the reciprocal relationship being used in the reverse. Students were rarely asked to share aloud what they had written, nor were they given time to write down some ideas before turning and talking.

Second, writing was used to teach students how to encode language and about the differences between written and oral language. For example, Isabel's kinder students explicitly discussed strategies for encoding words, including clapping syllables, saying the word slowly to hear the sounds, using the word wall, and rereading writing to check it (Field notes, April 12, 2012). Kinder students also learned about word boundaries through writing. One day, during the whole-class portion of a daily news lesson, a student wrote "*mier mano*" for "*mi hermano*" (Field notes, April 12, 2012). (An attempt at an English translation might be "mybro ther" for "my brother.") When the phrase *mi hermano* (my brother) was said out loud, it was difficult to aurally distinguish the word boundary. In writing, however, knowing where one word ended and another began was necessary and important for communication.

Third, teachers used writing as a model to get students to use expanded, more complex language. Both Isabel and Claudia used language expansion prompts with students before they wrote in order to get longer oral and written utterances. In the kinder example below, Isabel modeled writing a longer sentence with more details and asked her students to do the same:

> T & Ss chorally read the teacher's model (slowly, syllable by syllable): *"Mi familia y yo caminamos en la playa y juntamos conchitas del mar. Yo tengo muchas conchitas que he juntado del mar."*
> *T: Con tus noticias, acuerdate de añadir detalles. Mira, ¿Yo te dije nada mas que 'la semana pasada yo fui a la playa'?*
> *Ss, en coro: ¡No!*
> *T: No, yo te dije, "Mi familia y yo caminamos en la playa y juntamos conchitas del mar." Te dije qué hicimos en la playa. Ahora tú piensas en algo que tú hiciste, con quién estabas, en dónde, y qué estabas haciendo.* [Students think quietly for a minute or so, then turn and talk. T selects one student to share her news.]
> *S: Mis noticias son que yo fui a la tienda, compramos comida y mi mama hizo comida en la casa*
> (Field notes, April 17, 2012).

> T & Ss chorally read the teacher's model (slowly, syllable by syllable): "My family and I walked on the beach and collected shells from the sea. I have many shells that I have collected from the sea."
> T: With your news, remember to add details. Look, did I tell you only, "Last week I went to the beach?"
> Ss, chorally: No!
> T: No, I told you, "My family and I walked on the beach and collected shells from the sea." I told you what we did at the beach. Now you think of something you did, who you did it with, where, and what you were doing. [Students think quietly for a minute or so, then turn and talk. T selects one student to share her news.]
> S: My news is that I went to the store, we bought food and my mom made food at home.

In this example, the teacher asked for specific details: what you did, who you were with and where, and the student she called on was able to provide those details in an expanded sentence. The teacher had modeled in writing the type of language she expected, and the student was able to meet her standard, at least orally. Isabel prompted the student for a longer oral utterance, hoping that this would result in a longer, more detailed piece of writing.

Finally, the fourth grade teacher used her own writing as a language model for both oral and written language. Based on a Venn diagram, Lauren wrote one paragraph comparing two things and another paragraph contrasting them. She then identified the signal words in her writing that showed transitions, similarities and differences, and related it back to the Venn diagram. (See Appendix D for the transcript and Appendix E for the supporting visuals). In this instance Lauren demonstrated a specific type of language usage via writing and explicitly showed the students specific words that show compare, contrast and transition. This supported students' use of the compare/contrast structure and transitions in both oral and written language.

In conclusion, teachers used a myriad of instructional strategies to develop students' oral and written language in both Spanish and English. Teachers used the same

strategies in both languages, showing that they thought about language development as one concept regardless of which language was being developed. Table 2 outlines the instructional strategies used and the primary purposes for which they were used related to academic language development.

Table 4.

Summary of Instructional Practices Used to Develop Oral Language.

Instructional Practice	Purposes
Choral Practices	• Learn or practice academic language • Pronounce new words • Increase engagement - all students participate • Lower the affective filter; create a safe environment
• Songs / chants	• Scaffold memorization of facts and/or processes • Reinforce complex concepts
• Choral repetition (word/phrase/ sentence)	• Try out new academic language (vocabulary and/or language structures) • Remember content
• Choral response • (word/phrase/ sentence)	• Practice new academic language (vocabulary and/or language structures) • Remember content
• Choral reading	• Scaffold complex text • Practice reading fluently • Learn how to read and pronounce new words • Remind students of academic & behavioral expectations • Internalize processes through oral repetition • Draw attention to text or aspects of text
Turn & Talk	• Practice using academic language in context • Formative assessment for teachers, as teachers listened to what and how students shared • Scaffold student writing – share ideas • Explain a process or solve a problem
Intentional Language Expansion (ILE) • Sentence Stems (oral or written) • Prompting for ILE	• Expand students' oral or written utterances • Provide differentiated support for language development • Support increased complexity of language • Practice using academic language • Help students begin or expand an oral or written sentence
Visuals, TPR, Realia	• Scaffold vocabulary • Support memory
Explicit Instructional Conversations about Language (EICAL)	• Explicitly teach linguistic concepts • Draw students' attention to particular aspects of language • Help students to appreciate the richness of language • Use what is known to learn something new • Correct students' language
Writing	• Show the reciprocity between oral and written language • Teach the encoding process • Teach the organization of writing and linguistic signals in different types of writing • Increase the complexity of students' language

In addition, many strategies were expertly woven together, such as using a sentence stem for a turn and talk, or choral reading to have an EICAL about a specific text. Table 3 shows which strategies were used in conjunction with others.

Table 5.

Oral Language Development Instructional Strategies Used in Conjunction with Others.

	Choral practices	Turn & talk	Sentence stems	Visuals/TPR/ Realia	EICAL	Writing
Choral practices		X	X	X	X	X
Turn & Talk	X		X	X	X	X
Sentence stems	X	X		X	X	X
Visuals/TPR/realia	X	X	X		X	X
EICAL	X	X	X	X		X
Writing	X	X	X	X	X	

Note that Table 3 is a two-dimensional representation, which is misleading as teachers might use multiple strategies together. However, it shows that teachers coordinated multiple oral language development strategies and points to the complexity of teaching English learners effectively.

Absence of Critical Thinking

I realized that several important factors were absent from the data. For example, minimal differentiation or scaffolding occurred for the few English-only students during Spanish time, since the great majority of students in each class were Spanish dominant. The use of reciprocity among reading, writing, listening and speaking was limited, and transfer was only observed a few times in the fourth grade classroom. Critical thinking and the use of thinking skills on the higher end of Bloom's Taxonomy, such as analysis, evaluation or synthesis, were also essentially absent from the data (Anderson et al., 2000). Students were asked to repeat vocabulary words, expand their sentences, and even

articulate complex processes such as the life cycle of a rock (Field notes, May 3, 2012), but were not asked to think critically.

Housset Fonseca and Maloof Avendaño (2009) provided a number of definitions of critical thinking, including one from Paul and Scriven's book, *The Critical Thinking Community* (2007), "The intellectually disciplined process of actively and skillfully conceptualizing, applying, analyzing, synthesizing, and/or evaluating information gathered from, or generated by, observation, experience, reflection, reasoning, or communication, as a guide to belief and action" (pp. 38-39). This definition echoes Anderson et al.'s (2000) description of Bloom's higher order thinking skills and includes purposes for critical thinking – belief and action – that make it an empowering pedagogy, as students will learn to act on the results of their critical thinking. In other words, students who think critically consider from multiple perspectives the implications of their learning, make thoughtful, well-informed judgments about the learning and act on those judgments.

In this study, when teachers scaffolded language, they made it easier for students to comprehend and acquire language, which is the purpose of scaffolding. When the language being taught was new or academic, the teachers might have intentionally kept the thinking task easier so that students did not struggle with both the language and the task simultaneously. However, teachers never moved beyond language instruction to requiring more profound thinking. As a result, I did not observe critical thinking in Spanish or English. Teachers scaffolded both languages but did not delve deeply into content, which illuminated the need for instructional practices that can be used for both

language development and higher order thinking skills. Turn and talk is one, as the teacher's prompt can require critical thinking skills.

One example of a missed opportunity for critical thinking occurred during a language-focused lesson Lauren delivered on how to write a compare / contrast essay. She explicitly taught transition words as well as words and phrases that showed either comparing (looking for similarities) or contrasting (looking for differences).

> T & Ss chorally read topic sentence (first sentence).
> T: Did I start telling you how they're similar? No, I just told you they're similar, so you're going to have to keep reading to find out how they're similar. My first way is that they're made of minerals, so I turned it into a sentence with "both". Let's read.
> T & Ss chorally read second sentence in paragraph.
> T: Made of minerals (points to Venn diagram), made of minerals (points to comparison paragraph). Now, made of molten rock. I talked about that similarity with the conjunction "and." Now, let's read the sentence.
> T & Ss chorally read next sentence in paragraph.
> T: Then I talked about that they're formed near volcanoes. I talked about that using "both". Here we go.
> T & Ss chorally read next sentence in paragraph.
> T: My last comparison is that they have crystals. I talked about crystals using "both" and "and". Here we go.
> T & Ss chorally read next sentence in paragraph.
> (Field notes, March 28, 2012)

Lauren used choral reading and visuals to scaffold her teaching, including a Venn diagram and an example of a compare / contrast essay that was color coded to show transition words, comparing words such as "alike" and contrasting words such as "different." (The visuals Lauren used are in Appendix G). Lauren's focus was on the language that signified comparison and contrast rather than the science content.

After the lesson, Lauren asked her students to compare and contrast two characters in a book she had read aloud to them. She provided a word bank for the students that included relevant character traits such as vengeful and angry. This was a

missed opportunity to foster critical thinking, as there was never a discussion about why understanding character traits was important or relevant to students' lives. Lauren could have explained that readers make inferences about characters' personalities based on their actions. Readers then use those inferences to better understand the book as they continue to read, predicting characters' future actions and drawing on what they know about characters to understand why they do certain things. For example, one character was vengeful and played a mean trick on another character to get revenge for something the second character had done earlier in the text. In a conversation with one student, however, I learned that the student thought the character was just a mean person for no reason.

Understanding that the first character is vengeful provides a different and more complex reading of the text than simply thinking that the character was mean. Understanding that a character is vengeful allows one to ask questions about justice, such as, who has a right to deliver justice? And, what happens when people take justice into their own hands? Thinking that a character is just mean, however, introduces a sense of randomness rather than developing the concept that characters' actions are a result of prior experiences and beliefs. Students can relate questions of justice to their own lives and possibly better understand that the gang violence that permeates their neighborhood is often one act of retaliation, or vengefulness, after another. Critical thinking provides students with deeper, more meaningful understanding that can connect the academic content to their lives.

Transfer and Reciprocity

Transfer

The first sub-question in this study was, "How do teachers use the concept of

transfer between English and Spanish to facilitate student learning?" Transfer was not observed frequently, but when observed, it served two primary purposes: contrastive analysis between Spanish and English, and vocabulary development using cognates and morphology.

Contrastive analysis showed the differences between languages rather than the similarities. Lauren described contrastive analysis simply, saying, "In Spanish we do it this way but in English we do it this way" (Lauren, Interview, May 14, 2012). For example, during a daily edit exercise in English, one of Lauren's students wanted to put a question mark at the beginning of a question. Lauren clarified, "only in Spanish, not in English, but good thinking" (Field notes, March 12, 2012). Similarly, during another daily edit lesson, Lauren clarified that in English "I" always needs to be capitalized, but "*yo*," in Spanish, does not, saying "that's just how it is in English" (Field notes, April 10, 2012).

Claudia also contrasted the two languages to help students remember a key difference in writing, saying "*Acuerdate, en español los días de semana no se escribe con mayúscula*" (Remember, in Spanish you don't write the days of the week with a capital letter) (Field notes, April 18, 2012). Lauren used the students' first language as a basis and reminded them how English was different, while Claudia assumed that students knew about capitalization in their L2, English, and used their L2 to support a writing convention in their L1. This struck me because all of Claudia's students were English learners, but most likely she had previously taught them capitalization rules during the English portion of their day.

Cognates and morphology were also observed as forms of transfer between languages in the fourth grade classroom. The data included only one example of a direct cognate: When a student asked Lauren what "*cruel*" meant in English, Lauren pronounced the word in Spanish and asked if the student knew it in her L1 (Field notes, March 28, 2012). The word was new to the student in both languages, so Lauren provided synonyms in both languages in order for the student to learn the word in both languages.

More frequently, transfer was observed when students were using morphology, or similar words, to help them learn new words rather than direct cognates. For example, Lauren helped the students to learn "ancestors" in English by accessing students' knowledge of the Spanish words "*ancianos*" and "*antepasados*" (Field notes, April 17, 2012). Similarly, she helped students define "infrasonic" using "*sonido*" (Field notes, May 15, 2012). Lauren also helped students make links between languages using affixes they have in common:

> T: What is the suffix, the ending, the suffix in 'conversation'? The suffix is… [Providing sentence stem]
> S: The suffix is 'tion.'
> T: 'Tion.' Thumbs up if we have spelling words with that suffix this week? Yes, we do. Almost every word in English that ends with 'tion' in Spanish ends with…
> Ss, chorally: 'ción'
> T: So what's conversation in Spanish?
> T & Ss, chorally: *Conversación* (conversation)
> (Field notes, May 15, 2012).

In this example, the teacher used a suffix the languages share ("tion" in English, and "*ción*" in Spanish) to develop students' vocabulary in both languages and help students see the connection between the languages. In this way, new words had familiar parts students could use to help them think about Spanish cognates or determine word meaning based solely on morphology. Lauren explained this, saying:

> So when there's roots and suffixes, which is already an academic standard in English, helping them connect that to what they know about Spanish, I think that's liberating for them. Because these are really hard words. But then you realize, I actually know half of these words already
> (Lauren, Interview, May 14, 2012).

Lauren was building on what students already knew in Spanish to help them learn English vocabulary and morphology. She expressed that when students did not use what they knew in one language to help them with the other, then everything was brand new and had to be learned separately, "and that's too much of a cognitive load," she said, "you're staring off from square one again" (Lauren, Interview, March 26, 2012).

Students in Lauren's class exhibited evidence of learning to use morphology and transfer independently. When reading from the language arts anthology, one student explained that he had guessed that "finery" was related to the Spanish word "*fino*" (Field notes, May 10, 2012). Lauren then made this strategy explicit, saying, "Because in Spanish *fino* means very nice or fancy or elegant. So you can use Spanish … when you're clarifying what words mean" (Field notes, May 10, 2012).

Transfer was also used in some questionable ways, albeit infrequently. The most debatable use of transfer was around the concept of high frequency words in the kinder classroom. Isabel addressed Spanish high frequency words as if they were the same as English high frequency words, requiring memorization and automaticity with sight words in Spanish (Field notes, March 6, 2012). This happened despite the concept being significantly less relevant in Spanish than it is in English. In fact, Isabel and her partner teacher translated the English high frequency word list from the mandated curriculum, added some words and deleted others to devise their own 100 Spanish high frequency word list (Isabel, Interview, March 26, 2012). A large part of the back wall in the kinder

room was used as a graph tracking the number of high frequency words each student could read. The standard was written next to the graph: "WA 1.15 *Leemos palabras de uso frecuente y de una sílaba*." Kinder reading standard 1.15 states that students will, "Read simple one-syllable and high-frequency words (i.e., sight words)" (California Department of Education, 1997, p.1). The California standards were written in English and assumed English instruction.

In English, high frequency or "sight" words are common words that need to be memorized in order to write or read them because many are not phonetic. Examples of high frequency words include "the," "because," and "they." Spanish, however, is a more phonetic language. While variability still exists in how words might be spelled (for example, "yo" could be spelled "yo" or "llo"), the variability is significantly less. There are a few common confusions such as the silent h, the y/ll, g/j, and k/c/qu, but spelling is significantly more regular in Spanish than in English. Therefore, high frequency words are a less important concept in Spanish than they are in English. Isabel applied the English standard to Spanish, despite the fact that it did not fit the Spanish language well.

Teachers' understanding of transfer influenced their pedagogy. Inés, for example, thought that transfer happened naturally as students were learning two languages. She said, "*Para los niños del programa bilingüe aprenden a leer en español y luego rápido transfieren la lectura al ingles*" *(*The students in the bilingual program learn to read in Spanish and then quickly transfer to English reading*)* (Inés, Interview, March 19, 2012).

Claudia had a similar belief, "*Ya ellos pueden hacer la transferencia,*" *(*Already they can make the transfer*)* and she also expressed joy at witnessing it. She said,

> *Para ellos es 'wow' el descubrimiento que en inglés también existen las palabras compuestas o viceversa. El algo muy bonito eso, que ellos descubran que lo que*

> *saben de español les sirve de herramienta para hacer la transferencia al inglés de manera suave, sin dolor, y divertida*
> (Claudia, Interview, May 3, 2012).
>
> For them the "wow" is the discovery that compound words also exist in English, or vice-versa. This is something very beautiful, that they discover that what they know in Spanish is a tool to make the transfer to English easily, without pain, and in a fun way.

Believing that transfer would come naturally, Inés, Claudia and Isabel did not explicitly teach transfer in their classrooms. Lauren was less confident that students would independently transfer concepts from one language to the other without explicit instruction. "I think sometimes we assume that it's just going to happen, or that they're going to see that connection, but sometimes they don't," she said, "It has to be made explicit, and I think then that helps them to become more linguistically aware" (Lauren, Interview, March 26, 2012). Her instruction included contrasting the languages to show important differences, as well as teaching students how to use cognates and morphology to use one language to support the other.

Lauren also realized that the 90/10 DI program, as she understood it, inhibited the use of transfer in instruction. She spoke about her surprise when a small group of her students struggled to read "cruel" in English despite knowing its Spanish cognate, "*cruel*." She said, "I think that partly, maybe that's one disadvantage to the way we divide the languages so strictly" (Lauren, Interview, April 23, 2012). She thought that the strict separation of languages during the school day influenced the students to think about the two languages as entirely separate, and therefore made them less likely to use what they knew in one language to support acquisition of the other.

Reciprocity

The second sub-question in this study was, "How do teachers use the concept of reciprocity among the domains of reading, writing, speaking and listening to facilitate student learning?" Reciprocity can enhance students' language and literacy development by building on the strengths of one or more aspects of students' language to support less-strong aspects. However, learning opportunities are lost if reciprocity is not used or not made explicit to students.

Reciprocity was observed in limited ways in this study, and generally was not explicitly shared with students. For example, teachers did not remind students that if they could write a word, they could also read it. However at times reciprocity was used implicitly, which most often occurred with teachers using oral language to support writing.

I most frequently observed talk supporting writing, which contained two components: Talk supporting the content of what was being written, and talk supporting the encoding process. Talk supported the content of writing every time a teacher asked students to tell their partner what they were going to write (Isabel, Field notes, March 6, 2012; April 12, 2012; April 17, 2012; May 16, 2012), or when a teacher expanded a student's sentence in a dictation exercise (Claudia, Field notes, March 6, 2012; March 23, 2012; April 18, 2012; May 10, 2012). Interestingly, the teachers never explained to students *why* they were being asked to tell a partner their daily news before writing; for example, talk will ensure that you have an idea, will help you remember what you're going to write, will help you organize your thoughts and put them into words, etc. The purpose of talking before writing was never made clear to the students.

However, Isabel and Claudia occasionally explained to students how talk supported the encoding process. For example, students knew they had to say words slowly in order to hear the sounds and write the corresponding letters (Field notes, May 16, 2012). The kinder students also had an oral chant that helped them write "*yo*" ("I") so that they wouldn't confuse it with the other possible phonetic spelling, "*llo*" (Field notes, May 9, 2012). Another oral chant helped students write syllables ("*la M con la A dice ma;"* "the 'm' with the 'a' says 'ma') (Field notes, March 6, 2012; May 9, 2012).

Additionally, Isabel explicitly told students to re-read their writing mid-sentence to determine or remember the next word (Field notes, May 9, 2012), or upon completing a sentence to ensure that they wrote what they had intended to write (Field notes, May 16, 2012). On one occasion, the students were asked to share their daily news with a partner after writing (Field notes, May 9, 2012). Students orally stated what they were going to write, wrote using talk as a scaffold to encode as well as to remember their story, and then read their story aloud. All aspects of language – reading, writing, listening and speaking – were employed during this process.

Reciprocity was also evident during Claudia's daily dictation exercise. Students would create an original sentence before, share it orally, and often the sentence was expanded upon before being considered satisfactory. Claudia explained, "*Cuando los niños toman dictado, escuchan, atiendan y escriben con cuidado. O sea, escuchan, entienden lo que están escuchando y los transfieren a la hoja*" *(*"When students take dictation they listen, attend, and write carefully. In other words, they listen, understand what they're hearing and transfer it to the page"*)* (Claudia, Interview, May 3, 2012). Sometimes students would chorally repeat the sentence, and other times Claudia repeated

it while the students wrote it. Regardless, reciprocity was evident as language was spoken, expanded upon, heard, and was finally written. Students were also asked to check their written sentences by reading them. This process included speaking, elaborating on a sentence, hearing it multiple times, encoding it, and finally reading it to check it (Field notes, March 6, 2012; March 23, 2012; April 13, 2012; April 18, 2012; May 10, 2012). Claudia believed that "*Alphabetización tiene que ver mucho con el nivel de desarollo de la lengua*" ("Literacy is closely related to language development") and therefore knowingly included many aspects of language –reading, writing, listening and speaking– in her dictation exercise (Claudia, Interview, May 3, 2012).

In summary, both transfer and reciprocity were used to support students' oral and written language development, but much less than I would have imagined. Transfer and reciprocity built on what students already knew about language and literacy, helping students to make connections between languages and among reading, writing, speaking and listening, respectively. Use of transfer and reciprocity could accelerate students' learning across written and oral language, as well as across their L1 and L2.

DI Teachers as Advocates for Bilingualism and Home Language Maintenance

In varying ways and degrees Claudia, Isabel and Lauren acknowledged and related to the students' home culture and their non-dominant position in American society. Teaching bilingualism and biliteracy was the teachers' way of empowering students to both maintain their cultural identity and simultaneously learn enough English to improve their soicioeconomic position in the future. Claudia, Lauren, Isabel and Inés were advocates for bilingualism, biliteracy and home language maintenance.

Isabel, for example, felt culturally and linguistically united with her students and their families. She and her students' families shared the experience of coming to the U.S. from rural Mexico and struggling to learn English in order "to have a better life." Isabel said she spoke a rural dialect of Spanish like her students' families, and even expressed concern that she did not sound "professional" at school (Isabel, Interview, March 26, 2012). On the other hand, she also thought that her colloquial Spanish helped her build trust with the students' families. Feeling insufficient in both Spanish and English motivated Isabel to want her students to be more balanced bilinguals who can freely and easily navigate academic and social situations in both Spanish and English. Isabel's parents wanted her to learn English at school but insisted, and continued to insist, that she speak Spanish at home. Isabel was grateful to them and started requiring her now English-dominant younger sisters to speak to her in Spanish in order to better maintain their home language. Isabel and her family acknowledged that mastery of English was necessary for success in the U.S., but chose to maintain their linguistic identity in their home. She wanted her students to have the same linguistic options.

Lauren's family experience differed in an important way, but the result was very similar: Lauren believed that bilingualism empowered students. Despite being a first generation Mexican-American and living with Spanish-speaking and bilingual family members, Lauren was not allowed to speak Spanish at home. Her father had struggled to learn English and in his day, being bilingual "wasn't considered a good thing[17]" (Lauren,

[17] This comment echoes Valdés et al.'s (2003) statement that "Bilingual is considered the polite or even politically correct term with which to refer to children who are poor, disadvantaged and newly arrived" (p.35). Valdés's statement validates, from a social perspective, Lauren's father's wish to have his daughter grow up as a monolingual English speaker.

Interview, March 26, 2012). Required to speak only English at home, Lauren began learning Spanish in school in the fourth grade. "Determined" to learn her family's language, Lauren studied it in high school and college, studied in Chile during college, and volunteered in both Ecuador and Mexico to further develop her Spanish. Like Isabel, however, she was concerned about the level of her academic Spanish. "There's a lot [of Spanish] that I don't have," she said. "I don't want my children to be like that … if kids have the resources around them to be bilingual," they should be, she opined (Lauren, Interview, March 26, 2012).

Possibly because bilingualism was intentionally withheld from her as a child, Lauren said she was "morally involved" in teaching others to grow up bilingual. Talking about teaching in the DI program she said, "This is meaningful to me personally, and I've seen how helpful it has been to me to become more fluently bilingual in all of the language domains and how it's such a strengths-based way to teach students" (Lauren, Interview, March 26, 2012). Lauren acknowledged that teaching students in their primary language could help them not only to acquire English, but also to stay connected to their cultures and families. Lauren struggled to communicate with her grandmother, a monolingual Spanish-speaker, due to her father's insistence on English only. This motivated her to help students maintain a linguistic connection to their families and culture, while having "very high expectations for them" in both Spanish and English (Lauren, Interview, March 26, 2012).

Claudia also explicitly expressed her desire to help students' maintain or develop a cultural and linguistic identity. She said that she wanted to "*Crearles en ellos un propio sentido de orgullo y de identificación cultural e identificación lingüística*" ("Develop in

them their own sense of pride and cultural identity and linguistic identity"*),* and expressed that the DI students did evidence "*Un sentido de orgullo y pertenencia*" ("A sense of pride and belonging") (Claudia, Interview, May 3, 2012).

Therefore, Claudia believed language maintenance was an important part of JAA's DI program. Recognizing that JAA did not have traditional DI demographics, she stated that one of her goals was "*Manteniendo el idioma, manteniendo las expectativas, cuidando el español y evitando que se contamine con el inglés*" ("Maintaining the language, maintaining the expectations, caring about Spanish and avoiding its contamination with English") (Claudia, Interview, May 3, 2012). All of Claudia's students were native Spanish speakers, so development and maintenance of Spanish was her focus. She wanted students to appreciate and master their native language rather than be ashamed of or simply forget it.

In fact, Claudia chose to teach in the U.S. through a program in which Spanish language maintenance was a prominent goal. She said, "*La idea era apoyar a las comunidades inmigrantes y tratar de mantener el idioma y sobre todo en caso de que los estudiantes regresasen a México o a su país de origen que tuvieran Español, que fuera parte de su educación"* ("The idea was to support immigrant communities and try to maintain the language, and above all in the case that the students go back to Mexico or their country of origin that they had Spanish, that it was part of their education") (Claudia, Interview, May 3, 2012). Claudia was an advocate for Spanish language maintenance, and she explicitly spoke to her students about the benefits of knowing Spanish and other languages.

May 17th Multicultural Celebration

One of my strongest memories of Jackson Avenue Academy was not in a classroom, but at the school's *Cinco de Mayo* multicultural celebration[18], held on May 17th, 2012 because May 5th was in the middle of state testing. There were no seats for the many parents who attended, so the parents stood around the perimeter of the cafeteria/gymnasium. The administrator acting as the master of ceremonies was a monolingual English-speaker who did not make any attempt to welcome the monolingual-Spanish parents in Spanish, nor did she ask any of the hundreds of bilingual people in attendance to do so. She introduced each class and performance in English only. Finally, the student performances were almost exclusively from the DI side of the school. All of the DI classes performed, but only two classes from the SEI side of the school participated, One SEI class was led by a Mexican former DI teacher who already knew she would be back in a DI classroom the following year, and the other was her partner teacher. The SEI teachers' distinct lack of support for one of the school's few multicultural celebrations was striking.

The students continued their academic language learning, even in the middle of the celebration. Lauren's students were seated quietly on the wood floor, with Lauren and I standing behind them. As one of the dance performances started, a few of the students excitedly whispered to Lauren that they felt vibrations in the floor. "Vibrations" had been one of the vocabulary words the students had been learning when I observed two days prior. Lauren praised the students for this application of the new word. Knowing she

[18] JAA referred to the *Cinco de Mayo* celebration as a multicultural celebration, despite the holiday being a commemoration of Mexican history that is celebrated in the U.S. more than in Mexico.

probably would not be returning to JAA the following school year, she was very emotional, continually praising her students and calling them "My little angels" (Field notes, May 17, 2012).

This scene reflected the DI teachers' dedication to supporting the students' cultural identity as well as their academics, the teachers' genuine affection for the students, and the students' desire and ability to learn despite a chaotic, even hostile, context. Students were independently applying scientific concepts and vocabulary to new situations in the middle of a cultural celebration. They had become independent language learners.

The *Cinco de Mayo* celebration also elucidated an underlying theme that had been present throughout my time at JAA: These DI teachers were advocates for their students' cultural and linguistic identity. The teachers in this study taught at JAA because of their desire to educate underserved students in a way that both built cultural and linguistic pride and identity, and simultaneously helped students to be successful in the Anglo-dominant social and political context in which they lived. The teachers connected with the students on many levels and wanted to ensure that they had all life's options open to them, while maintaining their home culture and language.

The teachers in this study were drawn to the hyper-segregated nature of the school because they felt they could make a difference in empowering its language-minority students. But the beloved students were not enough to keep Lauren there. Despite her strong emotional ties to the students, Lauren chose to leave in search of a better work environment with the same student population. During one of my observations, administrators from another school had come to observe Lauren as part of the interview

process. Lauren loved the students and was an exceptional teacher, but she needed to work in a school where the systems and administration supported rather than distracted her from teaching. She left because of the external chaos that invaded her classroom. How can we keep Lauren, and teachers like her, at the schools that need them most? And how do we develop more teachers like Lauren, Claudia and Isabel, who are committed to empowering students – in two languages – despite the challenges inherent in hyper-segregated schools?

Conclusion

The teachers in this study used a variety of instructional practices to develop students' oral language. In fact, they often used multiple strategies at once. The different practices each had specific purposes, such as rehearsing new language structures or vocabulary, and were employed by the teacher to achieve those purposes. Classroom routines and norms enabled the oral language development practices to be used efficiently and effectively. The importance of routines was revealed when teachers tried to use a practice that was new to students (Field notes, March 12, 2012).

Teachers felt unsupported by the administration's benign neglect of classroom practices and simultaneous intense focus on sentence stems and language objectives being posted on classroom walls. There was an apparent contradiction in administrators behavior as they interfered with classroom minutia such as sentence stems and language objectives, yet neglected many important programmatic issues, such as the amount of instructional time spent in each language and curriculum. The teachers, therefore, did what they thought was best for the students based on their individual knowledge. This resulted in a lack of a structured "program" in the DI program, so I was able to see a wide

variety of instructional practices and hear about teachers' differing views on teaching and learning in a DI program. The teachers' mistrust of the administrators, their tendency to be advocates for the cultural and linguistic identities of their students, and the lack of enforced structure in the DI program resulted in a high level of teacher independence.

Outwardly, the four teachers complied with demands from the administrators, such as having content and language objectives posted in the classroom. In reality, however, they made key instructional decisions based on what they thought was best for their students, regardless of the requirements of the DI program, such as the amount of time spent in each language, or even the law, which required students to be placed in English Language Development (ELD) classes based on their English levels. Claudia, Lauren and Isabel strongly supported the maintenance of students' home language and culture, choosing to work in a hyper-segregated school with students from Spanish-speaking backgrounds. Their personal values were well aligned with their instructional practices, however the school's laser-like focus on English-language assessments, to the exclusion of academic achievement in Spanish, frustrated them.

The lack of programmatic structure and teachers' independence may also have resulted in a few important factors being absent from the data, such as critical thinking, transfer and reciprocity. While the instructional practices teachers employed seemed effective for language development, a deeper understanding of the relationship between critical thinking and language development will become particularly important as the Common Core State Standards (CCSS) are implemented. The CCSS will require complex linguistic performance from students orally, in writing, and through reading and listening

comprehension, exacerbating the need for instructional practices that develop both oral language and critical thinking skills. I discuss these issues further in Chapter V.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, DISCUSSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

This study explored the practices teachers used to develop students' language in both Spanish and English in a hyper-segregated DI program. Academic English has been shown to be pivotal to ELs' academic success (Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco & Todorova, 2008). However, hyper-segregated settings such as JAA include an additional challenge for ELs acquiring English, as the rarity of contact with native English-speaking language models may negatively impact educational outcomes (Gifford & Valdés, 2006). Access to English is further reduced in 90/10 DI classes, where English instruction occurs in the minority of the day until fifth grade and never goes beyond fifty percent of the day. On the other hand, research has shown that ELs in DI programs obtain better academic outcomes than their EL peers receiving English-only instruction and express a greater desire to attend college (Lindholm-Leary, 2001; Lindholm-Leary & Block, 2010; Lindholm-Leary & Hernández, 2011; Verde Peleato, 2011).

Therefore, one of the goals of this study was to learn what DI teachers did to overcome the lack of access to English in a hyper-segregated setting. I found an intense focus on language instruction that resulted in a dearth of instruction related to content and critical thinking. Additionally, metacognition about language learning was generally absent, but hints of a self-extending system of language learning emerged from the data. Observations and interviews at JAA illuminated the teachers' focus on language, the instructional practices they used, and the implications of a chaotic school setting. Finally, the teachers in this study were found to be thoughtful advocates for home language maintenance as well as for acquisition of academic English. Teachers were "morally

involved," exhibiting high levels of agency and a willingness to do whatever they thought was best for their students (Lauren, Interview, March 26, 2012).

This chapter begins by summarizing the findings from Chapter IV. I then explore the implications of my findings on instructional practices, DI research, transfer, reciprocity, and the concept of DI teachers as advocates for bilingualism and biliteracy. Next, I make recommendations to policy makers, practitioners, teacher educators and researchers based on this study's findings. Finally, I share concluding thoughts.

Summary of Findings

I sought to document how teachers taught language and how they helped students to bridge both language and literacy (reciprocity), and Spanish and English (transfer). Preliminary evidence from this study showed that metacognition of strategies that support students' use of transfer from L1 to L2 may foster a self-extending system for second language learning, similar to Clay's (1991) literacy self-extending system.

Teachers implemented a number of strategies, in both Spanish and English, to incorporate more student talk in their classrooms and to elevate the level of students' language. To review, the instructional practices most commonly observed in this study were choral practices, including choral repetition, response, reading and songs or chants; turn and talk; oral and written sentence stems; visuals, total physical response (TPR) and realia that supported language development; explicit instructional conversations about language (EICALs); and writing.

While teachers intentionally supported students' language development, they tended not to make explicit the link between language and literacy. I infrequently observed reciprocity among reading, writing, listening and speaking, and typically only

by students orally rehearsing what they were going to write. The same was true for transfer between languages. Transfer was apparent in the fourth grade class, and was limited to contrastive linguistic analysis and morphology, with an occasional cognate being pointed out. Similarly, I did not frequently observe critical thinking in the classrooms, which could be a result of the state mandated scripted curriculum, or the intense focus on assessments that also did not require higher order thinking, or a myriad of other factors.

The teachers' focus may have been on language acquisition rather than critical thinking, as the teachers in this study were advocates, working for the benefit of the students they taught. The teachers wanted the students to successfully develop academic English, but also took pains to develop the students' home language. Their desire to best serve their students, combined with a lack of trust in the administrators, occasionally resulted in their quiet defiance of JAA's administration. The teachers took advantage of the administrators' disorganization and a pervasive lack of clarity about key concepts – such as the time requirements of the DI program or definitions of academic language– in order to optimize students' learning as they defined it. As the teachers expected, their disobedience went unnoticed or ignored. Their agency and independence resulted in a lack of formal "program" in the DI program, including variations in time spent in each language, the curricula used, how the curricula was implemented and in which language.

Discussion

Instructional strategies: Integrating Critical Thinking and Language Development

Teachers in this study were very focused on oral language development, as Olsen (2010) recommended. However, language development instructional strategies generally

overshadowed critical thinking in the four classrooms. A lack of critical thinking in a hyper-segregated school is evidence of inequitable educational opportunities. Yet, due to societal re-segregation, hyper-segregated schools like JAA are now commonplace for ELs and growing in number (García, Kleifgen, & Falchi, 2008). Therefore it is imperative that we study what is going on in these schools.

Alvarez (2011) pointed out that in settings like JAA, teachers need to teach language in addition to the content – not just the new vocabulary word, but how to use language to learn and communicate one's learning. Janzen (2008) wrote about the challenge academic language poses:

> The language of academic texts, both the ones students read and the ones they produce, has distinctive features and meanings that may present a contrast to the language used in informal spoken interaction; academic language can also differ from one discipline to another. The academic uses of language as well as the meaning of individual words need to be explicitly taught for students to fulfill the genre or discourse requirements privileged in academic settings and to understand the material they encounter in, for example, history textbooks or mathematical word problems (p. 1,030).

Janzen elucidated some ways in which academic language can be different from what students are accustomed to, explaining that academic language in one content area can be different from another content area. She recommended explicit teaching to empower students.

Lauren, Isabel and Claudia, however, taught language almost to the exclusion of thinking. Students were frequently asked to chorally repeat, respond, and read, but only

rarely in the fourth grade class were they asked to use higher order thinking skills. While many steps lie between rote repetition and critical thinking, the rarity of students being asked to think in a sea of repetition was striking. Teachers worked hard to support language development, implementing valuable and valid practices, but they did not integrate these practices with critical thinking.

Interestingly, the instructional practices at JAA aligned with other research on recommended practices for English learners. For example, in a review of the research, Janzen (2008) emphasized the importance of having students use math language, as math language may not be used outside of school, and it requires specific meanings for words. In the below example, the common word "line" is used very specifically in the math concept of a line segment. Lauren provided a sentence frame and used turn and talk to support students' acquisition of the math language:

> T: *Usando esa oracion, "La longitud de este segmento de recta es," digan la respuesta a tu pareja*
> (Field notes, March 20, 2012).

> T: Using the sentence, "The length of this line segment is," tell your partner the answer.

During this turn and talk, students practiced using math vocabulary in context, as Janzen (2008) recommended.

Additionally, at JAA I observed many of Danzak's (2011) suggestions for English learners who have spent fewer than two years in the U.S. and receive instruction in a monolingual-English classroom. Similar practices between the two studies included choral reading, graphic organizers to support writing, cognates, sentence stems, and sentence combining. Danzak recommended additional practices not observed in this study: word sorts, autobiographical writing, patterned poems, students translating their

own writing from their L1 to their L2, and contrastive analysis of academic and conversational writing to explicitly show the qualities of academic writing. Many of these unobserved strategies would break the strict language separation rule the teachers abided by[19], so it is not surprising that they were not implemented at JAA.

The practices Danzak (2011) observed that were not evidenced at JAA tended to foster transfer between languages and/or higher order thinking skills. For example, allowing a student to write in her L1 and translate her writing to her L2 acknowledges the "funds of knowledge" (Moll, 2007) the student brings to school and enables her own writing to be a bridge to her L2. This practice empowers students by allowing them to use their strength or asset – their L1 – to develop their L2. It also supports transfer and metacognition, as students will learn that what they know in their L1 can help them to acquire their L2.

EICALs. Quinn, Lee and Valdés (2012) recommended EICALs for use with ELs, along with recasting main ideas and rephrasing students' responses. Cisco and Padrón (2012) advocated for "semantic mapping" for vocabulary development, which they described similar to EICALs, using morphology and word families to "help ELLs see the relationships between words … and understand unknown academic vocabulary" (p.7). They also recommended peer talk during semantic mapping to solidify understanding, including in the students' home languages when cognates are relevant. Similarly,

[19] I do not know why the teachers strictly followed the language separation rule but not other programmatic DI rules such as the percentages of time in each language. One possibility is that the pressure of the English testing mandates caused some of the teachers to move away from their understanding of the DI model in order to – in their understanding – better prepare students for the English tests. No similar pressure existed that would move teachers away from the language separation rule.

Uchikoshi and Maniates (2010) witnessed teachers using contrastive analysis between the languages to help their transitional bilingual students learn English.

This type of vocabulary instruction was occasionally witnessed in Lauren and Claudia's rooms during EICALs, with limited use of cognates. EICALS might have been more effective at JAA if teachers allowed students to talk to each other about the vocabulary words and how they were related to other words in both English and Spanish, as Cisco and Padrón (2012) recommend. Claudia and Lauren also infrequently used contrastive analysis between Spanish and English. For example, Lauren explained to her students that they should not capitalize "*yo*" in Spanish despite capitalizing "I" in English, and question marks are not used at the beginning of written questions in English (Field notes, April 10, 2012; March 12, 2012). Lauren pointed out the differences between the languages, but rarely was explicit about their similarities.

Choral Practices. One result of the teachers' emphasis on choral practices over critical thinking was a general lack of authentic communicative needs. If, as Abrar-Ul-Hassan (2011) and Krashen (1981) claimed, second language acquisition is motivated by authentic linguistic needs, choral practices would be less effective for language acquisition than genuine communication. Repeating or responding because a teacher tells you to reflects a "nonconversational style of instruction" rather than an authentic need to communicate, as the students' linguistic participation is teacher-induced rather than student-driven (Tharp & Gallimore, 1988, p. 100). Bakhtin (1981) wrote, "Verbal discourse is a social phenomenon," therefore choral repetition and response may not be the most authentic ways for students to acquire language, as they do not often occur in social or professional settings (p. 259).

However, in a recent study Vasilyeva and Waterfall (2012) supported the use of choral repetition of new or challenging sentence structures. The researchers concluded that monolingual English speakers are more likely to use a particular sentence structure, specifically the passive tense, after the researchers used "syntactic priming," in which the study participants heard the passive tense (p. 258). The participants in this study were English and Russian monolingual children being tested in their first language. Vasilyeva and Waterfall's study corroborates the JAA teachers' use of sentence stems and choral repetition at the sentence level, as it shows that hearing a syntactic structure results in the listener using that structure. Even though the classes did not have many native English speakers, JAA teachers tended to use the same instructional practices to teach academic language regardless of whether it was in students' L1 or L2, as the need for academic language development in both languages was apparent.

Walquí and Heritage (2012) argued that language and cognition develop together, each supporting the other's development. As concepts become more complex, the language required to talk about them becomes more advanced. Similarly, as a student's language advances, he is able to express more sophisticated ideas. Teachers, therefore, must scaffold the complexities of both content and language rather than use low-level or diluted content and simplified language. Whether or not teachers use choral repetition to develop language and cognition may be an individual teacher's decision, but choral repetition will likely not by itself achieve cognitive growth.

However, both Krashen's (1982) input hypothesis and Swain's (2000) output hypothesis support the choral practices the teachers used. Teachers broke down input into

comprehensible pieces, and then students repeated those pieces back to them. For example:

> T: Repeat after me, "ancestors"
> Ss, chorally: Ancestors
> T: Are the people
> Ss, chorally: Are the people
> T: Who came before us
> Ss, chorally: who came before us
> T: All together
> T & Ss, chorally: Ancestors are the people who came before us
> (Field notes, April 17, 2012).

In this example, Lauren scaffolded the definition of a vocabulary word (ancestors) so that all students would have the opportunity to repeat it fully. She believed that the definition, an eight-word sentence, may have been too long for some of her students to repeat at once, so she broke it down into component parts that would be more comprehensible to her students, including one who had recently arrived from Guatemala.

On the other hand, an important aspect of Swain's (2005) output hypothesis is the concept of "collaborative dialogue," during which linguistic knowledge is built (p. 102). Whether or not students understood what they were repeating back to the teacher cannot be fully known, and might differ by child. Collaborative dialogue was sometimes evidenced during turn and talk to allow students to further develop their linguistic and content understandings. However, "collaborative conversations" (kindergarten through second grade) and "collaborative discussions" (third through twelfth grades) will be an expectation as part of the Common Core Speaking and Listening Standards (2010). Lauren, Isabel, Inés and Claudia's instruction showed that some educators might need support in implementing meaningful collaborative dialogue in their classrooms.

Writing. JAA teachers used talk as a precursor to writing, to help students consider what they were going to write and how they were going to communicate their intention. Claudia's dictation task, despite including students' sentences, did not have an authentic purpose other than correctly spelling some words. Similarly, Isabel's "*noticias diarias*" (daily news) tended to be forced rather than authentic and unrelated to anything else being done in class, although the students could choose what they wanted to write about each day. In particular, the sentence stem, "*Mis noticias son*" ("My news is") was overused. However, other studies support the use of sentence stems in writing (Lucido et al., 2009; Gibbons, 2005). Including more authentic writing and conversation might be a way to improve or accelerate students' language development at JAA.

Quinn, Lee and Valdés (2012) suggested using writing before a discussion as a way to help students solidify their thoughts and how they might communicate those thoughts. Writing before a class conversation or group work would prepare EL students to participate in academic conversations and discussions, as required by the Common Core State Standards (CCSS) (2010). This strategy could be adapted by having students draw what they want to communicate in the primary grades or until students are relatively proficient writers.

Just as with speaking, having an authentic purpose for writing is important for developing students' thinking, as well their writing (Skilton-Sylvester, 2002; Valdés, 2004; Vygotsky, 1978). Engaging students in written discourse about ideas can develop written language, but the writing task must be meaningful and authentic.

Student talk as formative assessment. In this study teachers tended to scaffold student talk, but did not use students' output to determine whether or not they understood

the content and the language required to communicate about the content. A student's language can help teachers easily and quickly identify whether or not s/he understood the content, as well as if s/he acquired the language necessary to talk about it. For example, can the student use comparative and contrastive language to talk about the life cycles of butterflies and frogs? Does s/he use the academic vocabulary "cocoon" and "tadpole" appropriately? Listening to students and recording their talk can be useful formative assessment and help a teacher determine whether not to proceed through the gradual release of responsibility, with the ultimate goal being student independence with both academic language and content (Pearson & Gallagher, 1983).

Pennington (2007) argued that NCLB's focus on test scores has limited what is accepted as formative assessment to a narrow definition of data. She wrote that under NCLB, students are monitored "based on numbers rather than [a teacher's] professional knowledge of their needs" (p. 467). Pennington argued that reliance on a single test, such as a benchmark or state exam, does not provide an accurately complex picture of a student's abilities.

Curriculum and assessment. The instructional strategies used to develop language at JAA, therefore, were not unusual, as they have been noted among researchers focused on EL instruction. The lack of critical thinking and authentic communication in this study may be at least partially a result of the curriculum used and No Child Left Behind (NCLB) requirements, as neither requires students to think deeply.

Two recent studies evidence the negative impact NCLB and its curricular mandates have on teaching and learning for English learners in segregated schools. In the first, Capitelli (2009) found that third grade EL students taught to read using Open Court

could decode well but struggled to understand what they were reading because phonics, speed and accuracy were emphasized in the curriculum rather than reading for meaning. In the second, Zacher Pandya (2011) concluded that the mandated curriculum and pacing led to limited time for English language development, specifically for meaningful discussions with and about texts. She wrote, "The stunted and partial nature of student talk around texts, and the similarly hazy texts students produce about books they read, are signals that these situations do not work for English language learners or for native speakers" (p.58). In fact, Zacher Pandya stated that NCLB's focus on assessments narrowed teaching practices and fostered "test-oriented teaching," in which research-based practices recommended for instruction of ELs were replaced by fidelity to a mandated curriculum (p.27). The lack of critical thinking observed at JAA corroborated the superficial, test-based instruction in Zacher Pandya's study.

Similarly, Pace (2012) found that under NCLB, social studies instruction in two urban districts was essentially in the service of literacy instruction, where social studies was the content, but the teaching was focused on reading and writing. The instruction was intended to prepare students for the state language arts test rather than to teach social studies. Pace concluded that the instruction was "repetitive," "not challenging," and "mentally taxing and time-consuming" (p.343). She claimed that the focus on literacy "directed students attention away from learning history … [and] inappropriately lowered the cognitive level of academic work" (p.351). Ironically, this type of instruction was used to prepare students for the state assessments, which come with fiscally punitive measure for schools that do not perform better every year. The focus on state assessments and preparation for those assessments at JAA corroborates Pace's (2012) and Zacher

Pandya's (2011) studies. Significant time was used for test preparation rather than teaching and learning.

Integrating critical thinking with language development. There are many ways to support critical thinking skills in a classroom. Fairclough (1999) and Housset Fonseca and Maloof Avendaño (2009) recommended one way that integrates language learning and critical thinking. They suggested implementing critical discourse analysis, which is concerned with how language is used to communicate ideas and ideologies in order to develop critical thinking in students. Celce-Murcia and Olshtain (2000) explained critical discourse analysis:

> The primary interest of critical discourse analysis is to deconstruct and expose social inequality as expressed, constituted, and legitimized through language use – notably in the public media such as newspapers, radio, television, films, cartoons, and the like, but also in settings such as classrooms, courtrooms, news interviews, doctor-patient interactions, as well as in everyday talk. Critical discourse analysts believe that discourse tends to become normative with repeated use and thus appears to be neutral: however, in actual fact, discourse is never neutral. It must thus be analyzed in terms of the political ideology, social history, and power structures that it embodies and expresses, explicitly or indirectly (p. 10).

Employing critical discourse analysis could therefore open discussions on topics relevant to EL students' lives, such as how Latinos and other ethnic groups are represented in the mainstream media.

Housset Fonseca and Maloof Avendaño (2009) developed a reading activity for their English as a Foreign Language students at Universidad del Norte, a Columbian

University, that could easily be adapted for elementary schools. They provided an example lesson about oil spills. First, they access students' background knowledge on a topic, so their lesson begins with a Turn and Talk on the environmental impact of oil spills. In an elementary classroom the prompt may simply be, "Tell your partner what you know about oil spills. Together, think of three questions you have about oil spills."

Next, the authors break the class into two groups and each group reads an article about oil spills. Students are asked to report the author's point of view about oil damage, and examine how the author uses language to share his/her point of view. In a kindergarten, first or second grade classroom, the text may be read aloud. In third grade and up, students may be offered texts at varying levels of difficulty. A discussion would ensue, either as a whole group or in small groups. After reading, students are asked to draw their own conclusions about oil spill damage and express their own point of view.

Clearly, Housset Fonseca and Maloof Avendaño's (2009) instructional practice could be easily modified for an elementary classroom. The use of critical discourse analysis, or Critical Language Awareness (Fairclough, 1999), combines critical thinking with language instruction and student empowerment. Students learn how seemingly neutral language is used in the media and in life to maintain the status quo. They learn to analyze language and its use, and therefore learn not only to be critical readers and thinkers, but also to use language wisely themselves. This was a missing piece of the instructional puzzle at JAA.

Relevance to DI Research

JAA did not have a sufficient number of monolingual English speakers needed to follow the 90/10 DI model as intended. However, JAA is one example of how DI

programs are implemented, and I would suppose that many DI programs cannot or do not follow the 90/10 model due to practical reasons such as instructional time, numbers of students, teachers' ability to instruct in each language, testing demands, etc. Since hyper-segregated, low-income settings are becoming more common for EL students (García, et al., 2008), it is both appropriate and necessary to discuss this study in relation to the DI literature.

In addition to not having enough English-speaking students, JAA did not follow a typical DI model in other ways. For example, each teacher determined which language would be used for each subject based on their understanding of the 90/10 DI model, the language of textbooks available to them in each subject, and testing requirements. In general the teachers used Spanish in the morning and English at the end of the day, except in Lauren's fourth grade class. In January Lauren changed her schedule to be entirely in English except for an hour-long math block before lunch in order to better prepare students for the English state tests. "The choices I made this year are sometimes based on language but sometimes based on testing," Lauren said when explaining how she divided time among languages (Interview, March 26, 2012). The fourth grade English writing test was in March, and Lauren felt that she did not have enough time to prepare her students.

Similarly, in a mixed methods study, Potowski (2004) found that English dominated the instructional day and often observed teachers using English during Spanish instructional time. The teachers attributed their language choice to the need to prepare students for the English standardized tests or to the language of the textbook they had for that subject. In the fifth grade class Potowski observed a 60%/40% language split

opposite of what it should have been: English was dominant rather than Spanish. She also found that during Spanish time, which was supposed to be 100% Spanish, the students spoke in Spanish 56 percent of the time and in English 44 percent of the time. However, in this study, only 35 percent of students at the school site were classified as English learners. The students' greater facility with English may have impacted their decision to use it more than Spanish.

In addition to pressure to raise student achievement on English standardized tests, JAA teachers also encountered mismatches between curricular and assessment materials and the language of instruction. On a systemic level, the aforementioned *Cinco de Mayo* celebration shows how English was the dominant language at the school. The state assessments seemed to be a primary force behind the "leakage" of English into the classrooms (Potowski, 2004, p. 79). I witnessed English test preparation during most of my visits to Inés's class, regardless of the time of day, and by January Lauren was teaching everything in English except an hour of math. However, the kinder students, who were not under the pressure of an English state exam in May, got very little English – often less than 15 minutes per day – as the teachers did not conform to the 90/10 DI model the program claimed to follow. Unlike Potowski (2004) and Ballinger and Lyster (2011), I did not frequently witness teachers or students speaking English during Spanish time. In general both teachers and students used the intended language of instruction during my observations. This clear separation of languages, however, may not have been the most effective instructional choice (Cummins, 2008).

The teachers' use of Spanish during Spanish instructional time might have been related to their high level of comfort and proficiency in Spanish, as three of the four were

native Spanish speakers. In contrast, Guerrero (2003) found that Spanish-English bilingual teachers in a pre-service program in the U.S. lacked both academic Spanish proficiency and the "linguistic access" needed to develop it (p. 652). Similarly, Lindholm-Leary (2001) found that Spanish instruction included very basic language, with only 19% of teachers' utterances having more than one clause. In turn, student responses were brief and simplistic.

Student outcomes seemed to reflect teachers' ability with languages. Potowski's (2007) study showed that native English speakers about to graduate from a nine-year DI program performed poorly on Spanish grammatical and pragmatic tasks on an assessment. Thus, she questioned the pedagogy in the DI program, including the input children received, the output required, and how feedback was provided. Potowski wondered if the teachers' apparent focus on content rather than language was part of the reason for the students' poor performance in the linguistic aspects of their L2. Since the study at JAA had the opposite results – a focus on language over content – integrating language and content is clearly not an easy task, and more research is needed to determine what an optimal instruction would look like in practice. In addition, while this study did not analyze students' language, the instructional practices used did not generally require complex or long utterances from the students in Spanish or English. Teachers often provided sentence stems in the appropriate language so students would use complete sentences.

This study also evidenced the need for academic Spanish language development, as well as English language development, in hyper-segregated schools such as Jackson

Avenue Academy. For example, Claudia corrected students' verb tense twice during one observation. One example is below:

> *S: Yo ha*
> *T: No puede decir "yo ha recogido." Yo "**he**" recogido. Yo he recogido una basura del piso. O del suelo, son sinónimos*
> (Field notes, March 23, 2012).

> S: I has
> T: You can't say "I has picked up." I **have** picked up. I have picked up garbage from the ground. Or from the floor, they're synonyms.

Students are children, and their language is not fully developed, even in the home language. Clay (2004) explicitly stated that language develops over time, throughout a person's life: "Discovering how to vary language, how to rearrange the bits, how to capture a new phrase and use it to the point of tedium are all part of language learning from the preschool years throughout life" (p.7). Therefore, Spanish language development, even in a hyper-segregated context, was important for students to cultivate their bilingualism and biliteracy.

Valdés et al. (2003) stated that students' English acquisition depends on the community in which they live and their contact with English. The students at JAA had very limited exposure to native English speakers, and the amount of instructional time spent in English varied greatly depending on the teacher. As previously mentioned, teachers used less English than a traditional 90/10 DI model requires in kindergarten, and much more English in fourth grade. Whether or not students had to take the English state tests appeared to drive the amount of English instruction the received rather than the 90/10 DI model. This implies that the pressures teachers face from testing interrupted the research-based 90/10 DI model the school had adopted.

Additionally, the zero to two native English speakers in each class may not have received appropriate scaffolding in Spanish or an appropriate challenge in English. Teachers scaffolded both English and Spanish instruction based on the needs of the majority of their students rather than one or two individuals. This study recast instructional concerns in a different light: EL students in DI program might not be receiving appropriately rigorous instruction in either language. This is particularly troublesome in hyper-segregated contexts, as it may evidence inequity in educational opportunities for EL students.

Overall, the teachers in this study emphasized language rather than content. They used a variety of instructional practices to develop oral language, but did not require students to think critically. Students were more often asked to repeat language than to use language to synthesize, evaluate or create. For example, turn and talk could be employed for both language and thinking skills, but teachers' prompts generally did not require higher order thinking. EICALs called for students to be metacognitive about language, which is one –albeit limited – form of higher level thinking. Writing could have been used to develop and assess critical thinking skills, but it was not. Transfer and reciprocity could have pushed students' to make connections and expand their thinking, but were not. JAA reflected the lack of academic rigor that Suarez-Orozco, Suarez-Orozco and Todorova (2008) found in other schools Latino immigrants tend to attend.

Finally, Uchikoshi and Maniates's (2010) mixed-methods study of four transitional bilingual classes with "effective bilingual instruction" offered a different lens through which to explore the debate about bilingual education (p. 364). The results of their study indicated that second grade EL students were more advanced in their English

reading comprehension than the monolingual standard when ELs were provided with instruction that fostered a home-school connection and valued students' home language. The teachers in this study used students' L1 to facilitate English development and intentionally focused on reading comprehension. It is likely, then, that the efficacy of instruction ELs receive is more important than the type of educational program in which they are enrolled.

A review of the research on effective reading programs for elementary EL students by Cheung and Slavin (2012) corroborated this conclusion. The authors stated, "Quality of instruction is more important than language of instruction" (p.389). They neglected to consider that bilingual instruction results in bilingualism and biliteracy, while monolingual instruction results in monolingualism: In fact, language of instruction matters. If effective instruction occurs in bilingual classrooms, the tradeoff between English reading comprehension and bilingualism is unnecessary.

Transfer: Reconsidering the Separation of Languages

With just a few exceptions, Lauren, Isabel, Inés and Claudia kept Spanish and English strictly separate, as a 90/10 DI model dictates (Lindholm-Leary, 2001). Lauren occasionally used cognates to help students understand new vocabulary, and I observed one lesson on Greek and Latin affixes in which Lauren made explicit connections between vocabulary in the two languages, such as photograph and *fotografía* (Field notes, May 14, 2012). However, the teachers in this study generally respected the DI rule of language separation. Even Inés, who occasionally delivered an English test preparation lesson in what should have been Spanish time, rarely mixed the two languages.

JAA's teachers corroborated Takahashi-Breines's (2002) study in which the DI teacher kept the languages "strictly separate," "never used translation," and "insisted that students speak the designated language" (p. 226). However, Cummins (2008) argued that language separation has a limited research base and undermines the use of transfer between languages to support acquisition in both L1 and L2. Koki (2010) found that DI students tended to mix languages, despite strict rules against doing so, when they needed help comprehending or expressing in their L2. Koki found that the primary reason for this was to scaffold understanding, either for themselves or their peers. The students in Koki's study were, as Cummins (2001) suggested, using their L1 to support their L2. They were finding ways to understand the content and learn despite the language separation rule, which made the newcomer students nervous. Not being allowed to use what they knew – their L1 – increased anxiety and did not make sense to the students. They wanted to use their L1 to develop their L2, and did so although the programmatic rules forbade it. I agree with Koki's recommendation to reexamine the strict separation of languages rule in DI programs.

Based on the role of prior knowledge as a foundation for learning and the interdependence hypothesis Cummins (2008) recommended the purposeful use of students' L1 to support their L2 and creating the appropriate conditions to allow transfer to occur. He explained, "The role of prior knowledge is particularly relevant to the issue of teaching for transfer in the education of bilingual students because if students' prior knowledge is encoded in their L1, then their L1 is inevitably implicated in the learning of L2" (p. 67).

At JAA I rarely observed teachers accessing students' background knowledge in their L1 to support L2 acquisition. The only teacher I observed using this strategy, Lauren, helped her fourth graders to learn "ancestors" in English by accessing students' knowledge of the Spanish words "*ancianos*" and "*antepasados*" (Field notes, April 17, 2012). Similarly, she helped students define "infrasonic" using "*sonido*" (Field notes, May 15, 2012). Lauren helped students to use what they knew in their L1 to develop a similar concept in the L2, or to develop "overlapping systems" of language (Cook, 2002, p.18). Lauren did not identify the practice of accessing students' prior knowledge in their L1 as a metalinguistic strategy students could employ independently. Therefore, the students' prior knowledge assisted them in learning particular words, such as "ancestors" and "infrasonic," but probably did not become a strategy they used for learning or acquiring their L2. In other words, using knowledge of their L1 did not become part of a self-extending system of language development.

In literacy instruction, explicitly teaching students to use their background knowledge or "schema" is considered best practice (Keane & Zimmerman, 2007) and is part of the reading comprehension strategies in state adopted reading curricula. Why, then, are teachers not employing this metacognitive strategy in second language acquisition? Cummins (2008) wrote, "monolingual instructional approaches" are at fault as they "regard students' L1 (and, by implication, the knowledge encoded therein) as an impediment to the learning of L2" (p.68).

In fact, Danzak (2011) recommended teachers employ metalinguistic strategies to help students transfer their knowledge from an L1 to an L2 to "strengthen the student's foundation of language and literacy in both languages" (p. 515). These recommendations

would require explicit instruction on how to use L1 to develop L2. Goldenberg (2008) and Cummins (2007) also asserted that transfer may need to be explicitly taught, as it may not be learned implicitly. Cummins (2008) recommended the use of translation of students' own L1 writing to help them notice the similarities and differences between their L1 and L2. Students develop an understanding of how the interdependence hypothesis (Cummins, 1981) applies to their L1 and L2, and therefore begin to construct knowledge about aspects of their L1 that transfer to L2.

Similarly, three recent reports on English learners also reinforce the need for transfer throughout an EL's schooling. In the first, *Reparable Harm: Fulfilling the Unkept Promise of Educational Opportunity for California's Long Term English Learners*, Olsen (2010) observed the need for curriculum and instruction that promote transfer between the students L1 and English in elementary through high school. Olsen also strongly recommended home language development, as, "Teaching students to read in their first language promotes higher levels of reading achievement in English and provides students the benefits of bilingualism" (p.39).

The second report by Lucido et al. (2009), *Promising Practices for Secondary English Learners*, advised the use of cognates as well as morphology and cognates together to help students define words and understand the deeper relationship between words and languages. This practice helps students to identify patterns among languages and use those patterns to better understand and produce academic language in both languages.

Finally, in a review of research on developing ELs' literacy skills, Turkan, Bicknell and Croft (2012) acknowledged the importance of teachers recognizing that an

EL's first language may influence the way in which the student processes English linguistic information. The authors suggested that teachers should "capitalize on" the student's native language resources and also be able to identify when interference between the L1 and L2 occurs (p. 3). Lubliner and Hiebert (2011) remarked that English and Spanish have 10,000 to 15,000 Latin-based cognates that are a potential fund of knowledge for Spanish-speaking EL students. These words are generally academic words in English but common words in Spanish, suggesting that even Spanish-speaking ELs who do not receive Spanish instruction would benefit from using cognates to understand or learn English academic vocabulary. The authors noted, however, that students often do not notice cognate pairs. Therefore, they concluded, "Carefully designed cognate instruction may provide Spanish-speaking students with a 'cognate advantage' in comprehending English academic texts" (p.76). Cummins (2008) also recommended an "explicit focus" on cognate instruction to support L2 acquisition (p. 73).

In contrast, the students in this study tended not to notice cognates and in general did not receive instruction on using cognates to better help them understand their L2. This may be partially due to the teachers' belief that transfer happens without explicit instruction, and partly due to the strict separation of languages required by the DI program. Isabel, Inés and Claudia believed transfer would just happen naturally. Lauren, on the other hand, experimented with morphology and cognates to support transfer, but she was hesitant about doing it -and talking about it- because the separation of languages was a golden rule of DI teaching.

A synthesis of research on reading comprehension concluded that students rely on their L1 during English reading (Cisco & Padrón, 2012). The authors stated, "The use of

transfer, translation and cognates were all reading strategies that proficient bilingual readers used to assist in reading comprehension" (p.8). They noted that proficient bilingual readers understand that each language can support comprehension in the other, but less proficient bilingual readers did not share this understanding. Similarly, there was a wide range in students' ability to appropriately use cognates. These conclusions reinforce the need to explicitly teach transfer. In fact, Cisco and Padrón (2012) strongly encouraged the use of students' L1 in instruction as it teaches students to use what they know, including their home language, to assist future learning.

I do not want to imply that students should learn their L1 for the primary benefit of supporting English development, since I believe in the value of learning one's native language for a plethora of cultural, personal, familial, and social reasons. However, the possibility that it could facilitate learning English is an added benefit that should not be ignored, particularly in environments where so many socioeconomic and political factors are working against the students.

Reciprocity: Developing a Self-Extending System for Language and Literacy Learning

None of the teachers in this study used reciprocity consistently and explicitly to help students understand the link between oral language, reading and writing. Isabel often asked her kindergarten students to orally rehearse with a partner what they would write, but she did not teach her students that orally rehearsing before writing was a prewriting strategy they could use independently. Similarly, she occasionally modeled the practice of re-reading one's writing to ensure that no words had been skipped in the encoding process, but this was not discussed or taught as a writing strategy.

Reciprocity is an important component of a "self-extending system," which students develop as they become proficient readers and writers (Clay, 1991, p.317; 2005, p. 114). As students expand their knowledge of problem-solving activities on text, they develop "generic learning, that is, learning which generates further learning" (1991, p. 1). This study showed preliminary evidence that the concept of a self-extending system could also be applied to language learning. For example, fourth grade students evidenced independent application of concepts, such as vibrations, in new settings (Field notes, May 17, 2012). Second and third graders created their own compound words based on their knowledge of compound words and used what they knew about morphology to make educated guesses about definitions of other words (Field notes, April 13, 2012). These examples could provide evidence for a self-extending system of language learning.

Teachers can help students develop a self-extending system for language learning via explicit instruction. However, Isabel's use of sentence stems provided a counterexample of teaching for generative learning. They were not used to help students generalize language structures, but rather were prescriptive. While sentence stems allowed students to participate, they simultaneously limited students to saying what the teacher wanted to hear, as the teacher had developed the stem. This is evidence that the way in which instructional strategies are used – the intent behind them – may be as important as the strategies themselves. For example, if Isabel had a mental framework for supporting flexibility with language, she would use sentence stems differently than was observed. Instead, the stems were inconsistent in their value as a language development strategy.

Walquí and Heritage (2012) stated, "The goal of learning is to develop the stance of generativity and autonomy. This is accomplished through apprenticeship in which the learner is invited to become a member of a community of practice" (p.3). A self-extending system is generative, and Claudia recognized her role as a mentor in a linguistic apprenticeship situation. Claudia expected students to mimic her language play, making connections among related words, sentence expansion, and sophisticated academic vocabulary and language structures. She was a language mentor, and her students were apprentices. I observed evidence of the students mimicking Claudia's thinking and participating in the learning community based on her modeling (Field notes, April 13, 2012).

Other studies have also shown the reciprocal learning that occurs among oral language, reading and writing. For example, in a nine-year longitudinal study, both Spanish and English oral proficiency were predictive of English reading success in third through eighth grade (Kieffer, 2012). English productive vocabulary was found to be the most predictive for ELs in English reading, even greater than SES. The authors concluded that primary classrooms, as well as upper grades, must include oral language development opportunities for students. Clay (1991) claimed that when students develop a self-extending system in literacy, they learn more about reading and writing every time they read or write, as efficient strategies are practiced and internalized. If this were also true of language learning, as this study suggested, it would certainly be an argument for more time for intentional academic student talk in classrooms.

DI Teaching as Advocacy and Agency: Teachers were "Morally Involved"

Lauren concluded that she was "morally involved" with both helping students to maintain their home language and to develop academic English (Lauren, Interview, March 26, 2012). Lauren had to learn Spanish as a second language despite it being her family's home language, and she wanted her students to develop their L1 rather than learn it as an L2 like she did. In contrast, Claudia and Isabel actively worked to maintain their L1 since moving to the U.S., being mindful about speaking Spanish with their families and colleagues. All three teachers discussed the importance of students developing both Spanish, as a part of their culture and identity, and English, to navigate and be successful in the U.S. outside the confines of their small, Spanish-speaking neighborhood. As a result, I dubbed them "advocates."

This appellation is supported by the literature. Teachers' enthusiasm for teaching ELs, regardless of the language of instruction, was shown to be a "highly significant predictor of differential effectiveness with ELL students" (Master, Loeb, Whitney & Wycoff, 2012, p.23). Suarez (2002) claimed that bilingualism represents an act of resistance against linguistic hegemony, and as a result, argued for Spanish language maintenance being an explicit goal of DI programs. Similarly, Delpit (1992) contended that students should be explicitly taught mainstream discourse in order to gain access to success and power, but also expressed the importance of respecting and valuing students' home language. She stated that academic language could be the lever that permits entry or excludes a person from positions of power.

Just as the teachers in this study had a positive attitude toward the Spanish language, so did the DI students in Block's (2011) study. Block found that both English-

dominant and Spanish-dominant Latino students in DI programs had a more positive attitude toward the Spanish language – particularly reading in Spanish, but also speaking and watching television in Spanish – than Latino students in mainstream English classes. He concluded that DI programs could decrease some of the documented tensions between English-dominant and Spanish-dominant Latinos by mixing both groups of students in DI programs. Teachers who were advocates, or at least politically astute, would certainly be an asset in such classrooms.

Valdés et al. (2003) stated, "Children acquire their two languages within the context of the immigrant community of which they are a part" (p.41). The home community and school community may or may not share similar values about language. The teachers in this study valued Spanish language maintenance as well as English development. As a result of California's Proposition 227, a controversial bill passed by voters in 1998, instruction for ELs must be English-only unless parents sign a waiver allowing primary language instruction. Since the parents of the DI students at JAA signed waivers allowing their children to receive L1 instruction, one can assume that most DI parents also supported L1 maintenance and L2 development. This seeming alignment between the teachers' and parents' perspective on language merits future research. It also makes JAA's DI program an appropriate fit for teachers who are "morally involved" with bilingualism and biliteracy for underserved EL students.

The teachers in this study were drawn to JAA, at least in part, because of its student population. They felt they could have a greater impact in a hyper-segregated school than elsewhere. But the beloved students were not enough to keep Lauren there. Despite her strong emotional ties to the students, Lauren chose to leave in search of a

better work environment with the same student population. During one of my observations, administrators from another school had come to observe Lauren as part of the interview process. Lauren moved to another DI school in another hyper-segregated setting. However, in the spring of 2013 Lauren was trying to return to JAA because she felt she was more needed there than at her current school. How can we keep Lauren, and teachers like her, at the schools that need them most? And how do we develop more teachers like Lauren, Claudia and Isabel, who are committed to empowering students – in two languages – despite the challenges inherent in hyper-segregated schools?

Pedagogy of Poverty. Haberman (1991) refers to a focus on compliance and certain "urban teacher functions" (p. 291) rather than deep learning as "pedagogy of poverty" (p. 290). JAA's focus on assessments and compliance certainly conforms to Haberman's concept. He stated:

> For the reformers who seek higher scores on achievement tests, the pedagogy of poverty is a source of continual frustration. The clear-cut need to "make" students learn is so obviously vital to the common good and to the students themselves that surely (it is believed) there must be a way to force students to work hard enough to vindicate the methodology. Simply stated, we act as if it is not the pedagogy that must be fitted to the students but the students who must accept an untouchable method (p. 292).

While the teachers in this study were working within a system that could be characterized as pedagogy of poverty, I believe they did not want to be part of this system.

In fact, the teachers exhibited significant agency[20]. They made their own decisions — such as how much time to spend in each language, whether or not to switch for ELD and how closely to following Open Court's teacher's edition and pacing guide— based on what they perceived would most benefit students. Whether one agrees or disagrees with the decisions made, the teachers' agency must be lauded, as it was evidence that they were trying to adapt to the students rather than expecting the students to adapt to the pedagogy. In addition, their advocacy for first language maintenance was another way they valued the students' cultural and linguistic strengths rather than tried to mold students to how the schools would like them to be.

Haberman's (1991) "pedagogy of power" provides a larger lens through which we can explore the teachers' instruction (p. 290). Not only were the teachers struggling against state (NCLB) mandates and disorganized administrators, but also against the entire culture of urban pedagogy. This knowledge makes their efforts nothing less than heroic. Some aspects of the teachers' instruction –such as a lack of critical thinking– conformed to the pedagogy of poverty. For example, "learners [could] 'succeed' without becoming either involved or thoughtful" (p. 292) in their classrooms.

On the other hand, the teachers were using language instruction as a way to empower students to break out of this cycle. Providing students with strong abilities in their L1 and L2 would allow them to maintain their home culture and have the language necessary to thrive in a culture that values academic English. Therefore, teachers' "moral

[20] For additional information on teacher agency under NCLB mandates, please see J. Pennington's (2007) article in *Language Arts*, Re-viewing NCLB though the Figured Worlds of Policy and Teaching: Creating a Space for Teacher Agency and Improvisation.

involvement" with first and second language acquisition went beyond language learning and verged on empowerment (Lauren, Interview, March 26, 2012).

Recommendations

Since a key finding of this study was a lack of rigor and critical thinking at JAA, my recommendations center on integrating rigorous content and language development in hyper-segregated settings. Deeper learning in content and language will require significant pedagogical shifts that need to be supported not only by teachers, schools, and district administration, but also by policy makers and teachers education programs. Additionally, implementation of the CCSS will increase student performance expectations, thus emphasizing language, as performance is often expressed through speaking or writing. My recommendations, therefore, are closely aligned with changes that will need to occur as the CCSS are implemented. Santos, Darling-Hammond and Cheuk (2012) discussed some necessary shifts to help ELs succeed under the CCSS:

> Educators will need to understand the shifts required in curriculum, instruction and assessment for implementation of the new standards, and then they will need to have hands-on opportunities to acquire teaching strategies that respond to these shifts. These shifts in practice will rely on deep content knowledge that is pedagogical in nature. Educators will need to understand deeply the core areas of the disciplines and the learning progressions that operate within the domains of each discipline. They will also need to know a great deal about formative assessments to help them understand where students are in relation to the learning continuum, and they will need to have a variety of curriculum and instructional supports to respond to students' needs in ways that produce deep learning (p.3).

The "shifts" Santos, et al. (2012) referred to will require significant change from the status quo at JAA. The CCSS are an opportunity for educators to make instructional shifts that could improve outcomes for ELs. Policy makers, teacher educators and practitioners will need to support those changes by working toward a common goal of

improved educational outcomes for ELs. Additionally, more research is required to guide practice. Recommendations for each of these groups are discussed below.

Policymakers

Funds for professional development and coaching. The CCSS will require students to employ higher levels of critical thinking and more sophisticated academic language than was evidenced in this study. Since teaching will need to change to encourage more critical thinking, deeper reading of more complex texts, and collaborative discussions and conversations, teachers will need professional development and coaching (Common Core State Standards, 2010). Policy makers could support these instructional shifts by providing funds for professional development and coaching to support teachers through this transition.

Structures for language support for bilingual teachers. All the teachers in this study shared a concern about their own academic language in their L2, as did the teachers in Lindholm-Leary (2001) and Guerrero's (2003) studies. The need for teachers to continue to develop their L2 begs the question: What systems are in place to support DI teachers' continued learning in their L2? When Spain found that its DI teachers' level of Esukara was insufficient, the government implemented language instruction classes for its DI teachers, which helped significantly (Torres-Guzmán & Etxeberría, 2005). A key difference in that context, however, was the Spanish government's commitment to language revitalization. In the U.S. teacher certification varies by state, so each individual state's educational governing body would need to recognize the importance of languages other than English and implement measures to support teachers' continued growth.

Teacher Educators

Provide language education for bilingual teacher candidates. Like policy makers, teacher educators influence the opportunities and requirements related to teacher candidates' second language development. Bilingual certification coursework and assessments could be delivered in both Spanish and English. Teacher educators could provide coursework intended to expand students' academic Spanish, particularly related to content they would be likely to teach. This coursework would help to diminish the issue that Valdés and Geoffrion-Vinci (1998) found: Spanish-speaking ELs in college tended to speak interpersonal Spanish fluently, but lacked academic Spanish. Teacher education could provide opportunities for candidates to deepen and broaden their language abilities in both languages. Additionally, performance assessments – observing candidates teach in both languages – would help to ensure educators are sufficiently bilingual to teach languages to students of diverse linguistic backgrounds.

Prepare teacher candidates to teach the CCSS with an emphasis on academic language development. As previously mentioned, the CCSS will require a significant shift in instruction as compared to the pedagogy witnessed at JAA. Teacher educators will need to equip students with the ability to, "Evaluate the content and language demands" and scaffold those demands so that all learners, including ELs, will have access to grade-level texts and rigorous coursework (Santos, et al., 2012, p.6). The CCSS are performance standards that often require evidence of students' abilities to be expressed through speaking and writing. Additionally, the CCSS require all teachers, including math and science teachers, to include reading and writing in their courses. Thus, a focus on language development will be necessary across all methodology courses in

teacher preparation programs. These courses will need to include pedagogy that integrates language development with deep content learning. Focusing teacher candidates on language development as well as content instruction should lead to better outcomes for ELs.

Instruct teacher candidates on using reciprocity and transfer to accelerate student outcomes. Both reciprocity and transfer are based on the concept of building on what students already know or can do. Teacher candidates can learn to use reciprocity among reading, writing, listening and speaking to identify students' strengths in one area and build upon those strengths to help students' develop skills in related areas. Clay (1991, 2004, 2007) emphatically recommends using reciprocity with students learning to read and write to accelerate the literacy learning process.

Similarly, transfer allows students to use what they know in one language to develop a second language. Building on students' strengths is particularly important in relation to ELs, as teachers, particularly by monolingual English teachers, do not always acknowledge ELs' linguistic strengths. Santos et al. (2012) stated, "Pre-service teachers should learn about approaches to language learning that can build bridges between students' native language knowledge and their evolving acquisition of a new language in an academic context" (p.6). This may include using cognates, morphology, EICALs, turn and talk, and other pedagogical practices observed at JAA, as well as other strategies. The goal would be for teachers to help students develop a self-extending system for second language learning.

Practitioners

Instruction. First and foremost, I recommend that teachers integrate critical thinking and language instruction. Some practices noted in this study, such as turn and talk, could be used to support both language and critical thinking if the teachers' prompts called for students to be thoughtful rather than reiterate or repeat. Danzak (2011) recommended other practices that were not observed in this study such as word sorts, autobiographical writing, patterned poems, students translating their own writing from their L1 to their L2, and contrastive analysis of academic and conversational writing to explicitly show the qualities of academic writing. In addition, practitioners should reconsider the strict separation of languages in order to increase opportunities for students to transfer what they know or have learned in one language to the other. Selective, strategic use of a student's L1 might help students' to develop a self-extending system of language learning as they begin to use their strengths to deepen their L2 acquisition.

Professional development and coaching. The absence of support for teachers in this study evidenced the need for professional development and coaching from instructional leaders to help teachers integrate language development with critical thinking and consider how to best develop students' self-extending systems for learning. Coaches may be classroom teachers, mentors, non-evaluating administrators, or hold a variety of other roles. A knowledgeable, skilled coach could support teachers through the transition to the CCSS, which will require instructional shifts such as supporting educators to implement collaborative conversations and discussions. Instructional coaches could support teachers in a process of continual improvement. Santos, et al.

(2012) noted that teacher inquiry is a powerful way for teacher learning to occur and should play an important role in teacher preparation for the Common Core.

Likewise, Walquí and Heritage (2012) reinforced the notion that under the Common Core, every teacher will be a language and literacy teacher and all must receive development opportunities. They stated, "Further development of the academic uses of language becomes the responsibility of every teacher" (p.1). Currently, the authors noted, most teachers do not have this expertise.

Opportunities for professional bilingual interaction. Schools and districts could provide specialized professional development for bilingual educators in English as well as in any language(s) used for instruction in order to support teachers' bilingual development and provide opportunities for further language learning (Santos, et al., 2012). Educators who teach in two languages may only use one of those languages outside of school. Providing time and resources for teachers' language development would demonstrate a school's commitment to bilingualism. Implementation could be as simple and inexpensive as facilitating an afternoon professional development session or data meeting in Spanish rather than English. Alternatively, schools could choose to hire consultants that focus on dual language instruction and provide specialized professional development.

Researchers

This study selected four DI teachers and examined their language development practices, which in turn, raised a number of questions that require future research in Dual Immersion and second language acquisition.

Dual immersion. This study evidenced instruction focused on language development but not critical thinking. Researchers could implement an intervention using critical discourse analysis, as Housett Fonseca and Maloof Avendaño (2009) recommended. A future study could examine pre- and post-tests of students' reading comprehension and critical thinking skills.

Additionally, this study did not explore student achievement outcomes, or students' perceptions of the DI program in their hyper-segregated context. Other DI programs have different student demographics, as one of the core principles of DI is mixing students with linguistic backgrounds from both target languages. Therefore, further research comparing the instructional practices and academic outcomes of two DI contexts, a hyper-segregated and a typical DI class, might open the discussion of practices that are most effective in one or both settings. In addition, researchers could explore the impact of reciprocity and transfer on language and literacy learning. An exploration of students' beliefs about learning Spanish and English in a context in which all, or almost all, their peers speak Spanish would serve to identify how they perceive the role of bilingualism and biliteracy in their future.

Another finding in this study was that the DI teachers were advocates for both L1 maintenance and L2 development. Future research could explore the role of teachers' language advocacy in DI schools, particularly in hyper-segregated settings. A study exploring the impact that advocate teachers have on students' identities, linguistic abilities and sense of agency would be fascinating.

Second language acquisition. The question of whether Clay's (1991) self-extending system applies to language learning would be important to answer from a

theoretical perspective, as it would have far-reaching implications for ELs. For example, in literacy, students can quickly learn that if they can say a word, they can write it and read it. While it is not always written accurately, and might not look like what the student expected it to look like in a book, students learn the relationships between oral, aural, written and spoken language. Reciprocity among reading, writing, listening and speaking – in conjunction with significant practice with literacy activities — has been shown to be an integral part of developing a student's self-extending system in literacy (Clay, 1991, 2004, 2007).

Future research might explore the relationship between certain concepts in literacy and second language acquisition. Could transfer be the second language equivalent to reciprocity? In other words, if students learn that Spanish and English share Latin and Greek roots, would that help them to better understand unknown vocabulary in either or both languages? Or, if students learn how different sentence structures work in one language, such as the OLAI (Gentile, 2003) delineates in English, would that help them to better understand and use similar sentence structures in a second language? Future research might explore whether guiding principles about English and Spanish could be taught to ELs to foster a self-extending system for language.

Finally, research shows the effect of caregivers' language and SES on children's language acquisition (Huttenlocher et al., 2010; Hart & Risley, 1995), but less evidence connects teachers' language to students' language development. Considering the linguistic apprenticeship model used by Claudia, and the language-focused instruction in this study, future research should include an exploration of possible relationships between teachers' and students' language use.

Conclusion

The well-intentioned DI teachers in this study employed a variety of instructional practices for language development in both Spanish and English. While these practices supported language development, they tended to lack critical thinking and rigor. Therefore, a key conclusion from this study is that teachers need to integrate language development and critical thinking practices when instructing ELs, particularly in hyper-segregated settings where the need for language development may seem to overshadow other needs. Some practices, such as turn and talk, could be used to simultaneously develop language and critical thinking skills, but regardless of the strategies used, teachers must integrate language and content instruction. This study also expanded the definition of academic language to include non-dominant languages, such as Spanish.

In addition, this study made an argument for additional research on the concept of a self-extending system of second language learning. In particular, the use of transfer from L1 to L2 might accelerate students' learning, particularly among languages that share similar alphabetic systems and word origins like Spanish and English. Teaching transfer would require students to use metacognition about language learning, which in turn would help to reduce the gap observed at JAA between language learning and critical thinking and provide a more equitable education for students in hyper-segregated schools than they are currently receiving. Additionally, a self-extending system of language learning could provide additional evidence in favor of bilingual instruction in the ongoing debate about bilingual education.

The DI teachers in this study were passionate about home language maintenance as well as English acquisition. The teachers sought to empower JAA's students through

bilingualism, despite a chaotic context, NCLB mandates and the "pedagogy of poverty" (Haberman, 1991, p. 290) that surrounded them. The teachers were emotionally attached to their students and "morally involved" (Lauren, Interview, March 26, 2012).

The emotional ties ran deeper than even the teachers realized. I recently received an email from Lauren saying that she hopes to teach at JAA again in the fall, after spending the 2012-2013 school year at a DI school in local urban DI school. She wrote:

> I know this sounds (and probably is) a little crazy, but I've decided to apply to teach back in [JAA]. I haven't stopped missing it all year, and I feel like I left part of my teaching heart back there (Personal communication, March 17, 2013).

Lauren's concept of a "teaching heart" is what drives her to work in difficult schools. She loves the students and navigates the chaos and mandates in order to teach her "little angels" (Field notes, May 17, 2012). I understand JAA's magnetic pull as well as Lauren. I too keep finding myself back there despite the frustration each visit brings. JAA is just one little school, similar to so many others. Yet it calls us back, does not release us from its power. We are not happy with the way we left it, not satisfied with the test scores (which we have been acculturated to understand reflect our value as well as the school's success). We are not one hundred percent confident that our students will be successful in the next grade despite the incredible growth they made. We know we could do better and we know the students deserve better. JAA pulls us back because our teaching hearts live among its students.

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Appendix A: Interview Guide

Research questions:

How do educators facilitate ELs' acquisition of academic language in Spanish and English?

(i) How do teachers use the concept of *transfer* between English and Spanish to facilitate student learning?

(ii) How do teachers use the concept of *reciprocity* among the domains of reading, writing, speaking and listening to facilitate student learning?

General Interview Guide

A. Opening

Thank you for agreeing to this interview, I'm very grateful for your time. As I mentioned a while back, I'm doing my dissertation on academic language instruction in DI programs. I'm looking specifically at what successful teachers do to help students acquire academic language.

- How's your class this year?

B. Background Questions

- Number of years teaching
- Number of years teaching in the U.S.
- Age
- First language
- Languages other than Spanish and English
- Educational background (English / Spanish? college, master's degree?, other relevant education?)
- How did you develop academic language in English? Spanish?

C. Dual Immersion

- How did you decide to be a DI teacher?
- How much time do you spend in English / Spanish each day?
- What do you think about this DI program?
    - What are the pros & cons for students? For teachers?
    - What do students get in the DI program that they wouldn't get in the SEI classes?
    - What other benefits are there for students in DI?
    - What are the challenges for students and teachers?
- How does your own experience as an EL impact your instruction?

D. How do educators facilitate ELs' acquisition of academic language in Spanish and English?

- How do you develop Ss' academic language?
- Tell me about the relationship between oral language and literacy.
- What is easy / hard for students in literacy? Language?

- What is easy / hard to teach to ELs?
- What do you do to help students acquire English? Spanish? Literacy?
- Are there certain things that make reading or writing hard for ELs?
- Can we look at a recent writing sample of one of your students? Tell me about this student's writing. What do you notice?
- How do you scaffold English instruction for your ELs or Spanish instruction for your EOs?
- How do student demographics influence your instruction?
- How do students' home languages impact the classroom?
- What are students' greatest needs in language and literacy development?
    - In Spanish?
    - In English?
- How do you attempt to address these needs?
- Where/how did you learn to take this approach?

E. How do teachers use the concept of *transfer* between English and Spanish?

- Do you use students' first language to develop their second language? If so, how?
- I noticed you did [X]. Tell me about that.
- How do you help students to see that their knowledge of Spanish/English can help them learn the other lang?
- How do you scaffold English for your Spanish speakers? Spanish for your English speakers?

F. How do teachers use the concept of *reciprocity?*

- Do you ever use what students know in reading, writing or oral lang to support another language domain?
- I noticed you did [X]. Tell me about that.
- Do you notice a relationship between students' oral lang skills and literacy skills (within a language)?
- Why do some students excel/not excel in literacy?
- What do you do to help students acquire literacy? Academic language?
- Tell me about your highest & lowest readers & writers. (Ask about language levels if T. does not mention it.)

G. Closure

Thank you so much, you've provided really valuable information for my study. Is there anything else I should know? Or is there anything else I should have asked you? Do you have any questions for me?

Guía para la Entrevista: Traducción a Español

Las preguntas de investigación:

¿Cómo facilitan los educadores la adquisición del lenguaje académico en español y en Inglés?

(i) ¿Cómo los maestros utilizan el concepto de *transferenci*a entre Inglés y Español para facilitar el aprendizaje de los estudiantes?

(ii) ¿Cómo los educadores utilizan el concepto de *reciprocidad* entre las áreas de lectura, escritura, conversación y comprensión para facilitar el aprendizaje de los estudiantes?

Guía de la entrevista

A. Apertura

Gracias por aceptar esta entrevista, estoy muy agradecida por su tiempo. Como ya he mencionado hace un tiempo, estoy haciendo mi tesis sobre la enseñanza de la lengua académica en los programas de ID. Estoy investigando específicamente lo que hacen los profesores exitosos para ayudar a los estudiantes a adquirir el lenguaje académico.

• ¿Cómo va tu clase este año?

B. Preguntas Básicas

• Número de años de enseñanza
• Número de años de enseñanza en los EE.UU.
• Edad
• Idioma materno
• Otros idiomas que no sean Español o Inglés
• Educacion (¿Inglés / Español?¿Universidad, maestría?, ¿otros estudios relevantes?)
• ¿Cómo desarrollaste el lenguaje académico en Inglés? ¿Y/o en español?

C. Inmersión Doble (ID)

• ¿Cómo decidiste ser un maestro de ID?
• ¿Cuánto tiempo pasa enseñando Inglés / Español al día?
• ¿Qué piensas acerca de este programa de ID?
o ¿Cuáles son los pros y los contras para los estudiantes? ¿Para los profesores?
o ¿Qué reciben los estudiantes en el programa de ID que no reciben en las clases de inglés?
o ¿Qué otros beneficios hay para los estudiantes de ID?
o ¿Cuáles son los desafíos para los estudiantes y los profesores?
• ¿Cómo tu propia experiencia como estudiante de inglés afecta a tu proceso de enseñanza?

D. ¿Cómo los educadores facilitan la adquisición del lenguaje académico en español y en inglés?

• ¿Cómo desarrollas el lenguaje académico de los estudiantes?
• Háblame de la relación entre el lenguaje oral y la alfabetización.
• ¿Qué consideras que es más fácil o más difícil de enseñar a los estudiantes de la

alfabetización y del lenguaje académico?
• ¿Què consideras tu que es más fácil o más difícil de enseñar a los estudiantes que estan aprendiendo inglés?
• ¿Qué haces para ayudar a los estudiantes a adquirir el inglés? ¿El español? ¿La alfabetización?
• ¿Existen ciertas cosas que hacen difícil la lectura o la escritura para los estudiantes que estan aprendiendo inglés?
• ¿Podemos ver una muestra de escritura reciente de uno de tus alumnos? Cuéntame acerca de la escritura de este estudiante. ¿Qué observas?
• ¿Qué haces en Inglés para ayudar a los estudiantes que están aprendiendo Inglés? ¿O en español para los que están aprendiendo español?
• ¿Cómo influye la demografía de los estudiantes en el proceso de enseñanza?
• ¿Cómo afecta el lenguaje del hogar de los estudiantes en el salón de clases?
• ¿Cuáles son las necesidades más grandes en el desarrollo del lenguaje y la alfabetización?
o ¿En español?
o ¿En Inglés?
• ¿Cómo tratas de resolver estas necesidades?
• ¿Dónde y cómo te enterraste de esta manera de enseñar?

E. ¿Cómo los profesores utilizan el concepto de transferencia entre Inglés y Español?
• ¿Utilizas la lengua materna de los estudiantes para desarrollar la segunda lengua? Si es así ¿Cómo?
• Me di cuenta de que hiciste [X]. Háblame de eso.
• ¿Cómo ayudas a los estudiantes a ver que sus conocimientos de Español / Inglés pueden ayudarlos a aprender otro idioma?

F. ¿Cómo los maestros usan el concepto de reciprocidad?
• ¿Utilizas alguna vez lo que los estudiantes saben de lectura, escritura o idioma oral para apoyar otra área del lenguaje oral?
• Me di cuenta de que hiciste [X]. Háblame de eso.
• ¿Ha notado una relación entre las habilidades escritas y las habilidades orales (dentro de un mismo lenguaje)?
• ¿Por qué algunos estudiantes sobresalen y otros no sobresalen en la alfabetización?
• ¿Qué haces para ayudar a los estudiantes a adquirir la alfabetización? ¿El lenguaje académico?
• Hábleme de tus mejores y peores lectores y escritores. (Pregunta acerca de los niveles de lenguaje, si la maestra no lo menciona).

G. Conclusión
Muchas gracias, tú has contribuido con información muy valiosa para mi estudio. ¿Hay algo más que debo saber? ¿O hay algo más que debería haber preguntado? ¿Tienes alguna pregunta para mí?

Appendix B: Data Collection Protocol

RQs	Classroom Observation	Teacher Interview Questions	Other
How do educators facilitate ELs' acquisition of academic language in Spanish and English?	• What activities do T do that might support acquisition of bricks & mortar of language? • What type(s) of language & registers do Ts & Ss use in speaking & writing? • How do Ts make themselves comprehensible in students' L2? • Do students use new (academic) vocabulary and structures in speaking and writing? How? • What types of texts do T select for ELs? • How do Ts scaffold & use texts w/ ELs? • How do Ts help students to make their speech and writing more sophisticated? • Does the classroom environment help S to develop language (ie, sentence frames, environmental print)? • Who is doing most of the reading/writing/ speaking? (T or Ss?)	• How do you develop Ss' academic language? • Tell me about the relationship between oral language and literacy. • What is easy / hard for students in literacy? Language? • What is easy / hard to teach to ELs? • What do you do to help students acquire English? Spanish? Literacy? • Are there certain things that make reading or writing hard for ELs? • Can we look at a recent writing sample of one of your students? What do you notice? • How do you scaffold English instruction for your ELs or Spanish instruction for your EOs? • How does student demographics influence your instruction? • How do Ss' home languages impact the classroom? • How does your experience as an EL impact your instruction?	• Collect S. writing samples over time (?) • Room environment: 1. Seating 2. Anchor charts (ex: sentence frames) • What's missing / not apparent? • Interruptions to instruction – assemblies, testing, etc.
(i) How do T. use the concept of *transfer* to facilitate S. learning?	• How does the T build on what Ss already know in their L1? • How does the T react to verbal or written errors (grammar, etc.)? • What scaffolds are in place for language? • Do Ss translate for each other? Does the T?	• Do you use Ss' L1 to develop their L2? If so, how? • I noticed you did [X]. Tell me about that. • How do you help students to see that their knowledge of Spanish/English can help them learn the other lang? • How do you scaffold English for your Spanish speakers? Spanish for your English speakers?	• How do T build on S strengths in one language to help them learn the other? • Environmental print?
(ii) How do T use *reciprocity* among reading,	• Do Ts explicitly connect language to literacy to help Ss understand both language and literacy/content?	• Do you ever use what Ss know in reading, writing or oral lang to support another language domain? • I noticed you did [X]. Tell me	• Environmental print? • Student writing samples

writing, speaking and listening to facilitate S learning?	• Do T include language in literacy & content instruction? How? • Do T notice when language interferes w/ literacy? What do they do? • How do T scaffold writing & reading w/ talk?	about why you did that. • Do you notice a relationship between students' oral lang skills and literacy skills (within a lang)? • Why do some students excel/not excel in literacy? • What do you do to help students acquire literacy? Academic language? • Tell me about your highest / lowest readers & writers.	

Appendix C: Classroom Observation Tool

Teacher_____ Language of instruction _____
Date_____ Time_____ Lesson_____

Choral response Word Phrase Sentence	**Choral repetition** Word Phrase Sentence	**Choral reading (list purpose)**
Turn & Talk (purpose?) Recall Critical thinking Pre-writing Other (name)	**Sentence Stems** Oral Written	**TPR** For vocab Other purpose (list)
Sentence "Development" Expansion Correction /refinement Transformation Other?	**Synonyms / vocabulary development** (within 1 language)	**Instructional conversations about language** morphology, vocab/explanation, parts of speech, special types of words (compound words, synonyms, antonyms, homophones)

Appendix D: Codes Used During Data Analysis

Code	Explanation
Language Development Strategies	
S/C	**Song or chant**
S/C – AL	Song or chant w/ academic language
S/C – Ind	Song or chant fostering independence
S/C – Pro	Song or chant for process or to remember
S/C – Tr	Song or chant for transition
ChRep	**Choral repetition**
CH Ans	**Choral answer (response)**
CH Read	**Choral reading**
T&T	**Turn & Talk**
T&T – SE	T&T – sentence expansion
T&T → WP	T&T as writing preparation
T&T – SW	T&T to share writing
T&T – Pro	T&T to review a process
T&T – Re	T&T to recall
T&T – Prac	T&T – to practice something (other than a word/lang)
T&T – Eng	T&T primarily for engagement
OSS	Oral **sentence stem**
WSS	Written sentence stem
I/D	Inhibits language or difficult for Ss to use
Sup	Supports language
CS	Sentence stem to get a complete sentence
ILE	**Intentional language expansion (oral)**
LC +/-	Language correction (+ or – impact on student?)
Vis	**Visuals** that support/scaffold language
TPR	**TPR** that supports/scaffolds language
Real	**Realia** that supports/scaffolds language
W?	**Writing** (may not fit into below codes)
W-TM	T writing used as a model (content, process, or language)
W – con	Writing about content
W – pro	Writing – process-focused
W - lang	Writing – language-focused
EICL	**Explicit instructional conversations about language**
Sy	synonyms
Ay	antonyms
Morph	Morphology (including forms of verbs)
MM	Multiple meaning words
CW	Compound words
Conj	Conjunctions, connecting words
Sig	Signal or transition words

Type of Language Requested by Teacher	
AL	Academic language
OL	Other language
W/V	Word / vocab)
P	Phrase
S	sentence
Thinking Skills Requested by Teacher	
LOTS	Lower-order thinking skills
MOTS	Medium-order thinking skills
HOTS	Higher-order thinking skills
Levels of Student Independence (GRR)	
SI	Student independence
TM	Teacher models
Reciprocity	
R: S → W	Speaking to writing
R: S → Wpro	Speaking to writing – content (ideas, etc.)
R: S → Wcon	Speaking to writing – process (spelling, etc.)
R: S → R	Speaking to reading
R: R → W	Reading to writing
Transfer	
T: LS	Language similarity(ies)
T: LD	Language difference
T: Cog	Cognate
T: Mis	Misunderstanding or inappropriate use of transfer
Other *(may not be directly related to RQs)*	
Obj	Objectives forced on Ts by admins
Ass-T	Assessment – teacher assesses
Ass-SA	Assessment – students self-assess
Ass-For	Assessment - formative
Ass-Sum	Assessment - summative
TestPrep	Test preparation
LM/LI	Language of materials / language of instruction not aligned
DI Prog	Lack of "program" in DI program
Diff	Differentiation / scaffolding (or lack thereof); often for EOs

Appendix E: Transcription Conventions

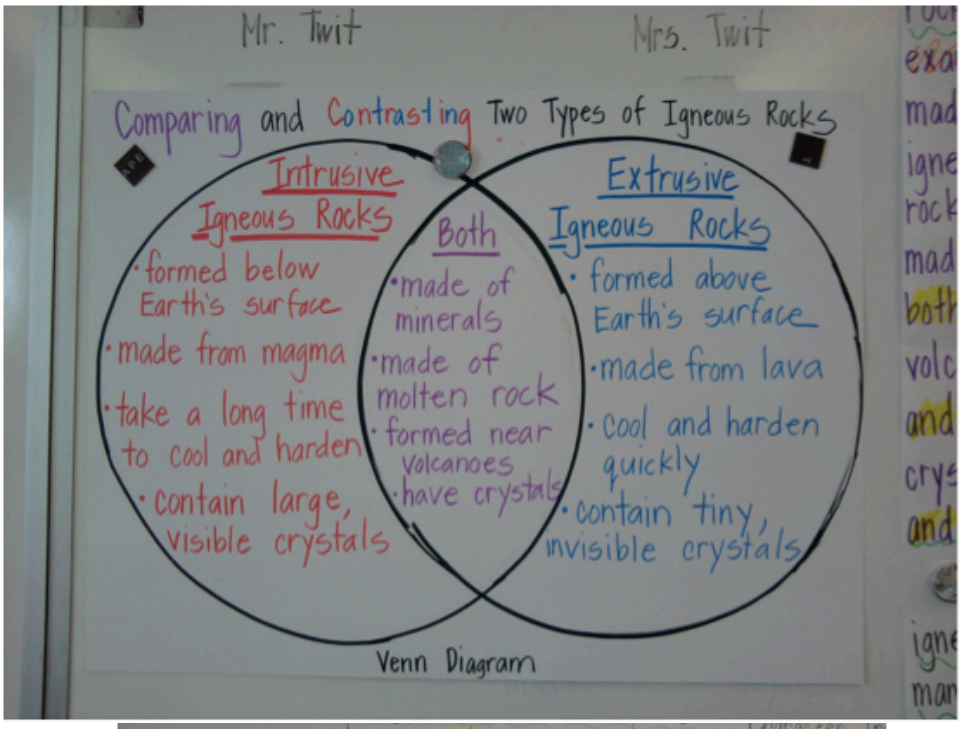
T	Teacher
S	Student
S1, S2, …	Student one, student two, etc.
Ss	Students, meaning all or the great majority of the students in the class
=	Latching of speakers' utterances, in which there is no interval between different speakers' utterances
[ ]	Brackets used to narrate or explain nonverbal cues
Bold	Emphasis
Italics	Spoken in Spanish

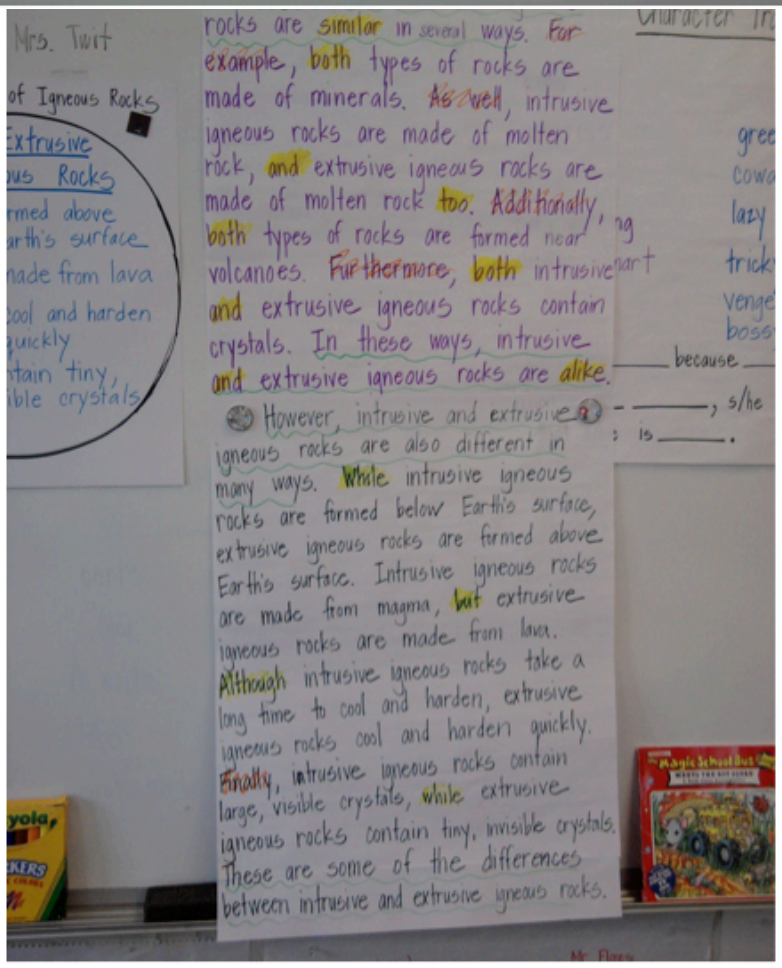
Transcription conventions adapted from Capitelli (2009).

Appendix F: Transcription from Lauren's Fourth Grade Class

T: Now, I'm going to show you something, all right? Here were my comparisons in my Venn diagram, so I'm going to read these and we're going to see how I turn them into sentences, all right?
[T & Ss chorally reads shared part of Venn diagram.]
T: Now, watch what I did. I know that I need to make these into sentences. But I know that in a paragraph I can't just start with my details, I must start with a topic sentence first. So, read the topic sentence that I made for my comparison paragraph.
[T & Ss chorally read topic sentence (first sentence).]
T: did I start telling you how they're similar? No, I just told you they're similar, so you're going to have to keep reading to find out how they're similar. My first way is that they're made of minerals, so I turned it into a sentence with "both". Let's read.
[T & Ss chorally read second sentence in paragraph.]
T: made of minerals (points to Venn diagram), made of minerals (points to comparison paragraph). Now, made of molten rock. I talked about that similarity with the conjunction "and." Now, let's read the sentence.
[T & Ss chorally read next sentence in paragraph.]
T: Then I talked about that they're formed near volcanoes. I talked about that using "both". Here we go.
[T & Ss chorally read next sentence in paragraph.]
T: My last comparison is that they have crystals. I talked about crystals using "both" and "and". Here we go.
[T & Ss chorally read next sentence in paragraph.]
T: Now, can I just end with a detail?
Ss, chorally: No.
T: No, I need to restate the main idea in my concluding sentence. Read my concluding sentence.
[T & Ss chorally read concluding sentence.]
T: Did I tell you the ways they're alike in the last sentence?
S: No
T: No, I just said the main idea
(Field notes, March 28, 2012).

Appendix G: Visuals Lauren Used to Teach Language through Writing





Appendix H: Students from Lauren, Claudia and Inés's classes singing together at JAA's *Cinco de Mayo* cultural celebration.

Appendix I: IRB Cover Letter and Informed Consent Form

COVER LETTER

March 7, 2012

Dear Dual Immersion Teacher:

My name is Allison Briceño and I am a former dual immersion teacher at Green Oaks. Currently I am a graduate student in the School of Education at the University of San Francisco. I am doing a study on academic language in dual immersion programs. I am interested in learning about how students acquire academic language in Spanish and English. Ms. Guillaume has given approval for me to conduct this research.

You are being asked to participate in this research study because you are an experienced teacher in a dual immersion program. If you choose to participate in this study you will agree to:

- Be interviewed by me for about one hour, approximately once a month in March, April and May. The interview will be taped and transcribed.
- Allow me to observe in your classroom this Spring for about two hours per week. I will observe, take notes, and/or video- or audio-record the class.

While there will be no direct benefit to you from participating in this study, the anticipated benefit of this study is a better understanding of how students acquire academic language in Spanish and English in a dual immersion program in which Spanish is the native language for most students.

There will be no costs to you as a result of taking part in this study, nor will you be reimbursed for your participation in this study.

If you have questions about the research, you may contact me at (650) 346-2585 or abriceno@gmail.com. If you have further questions about the study, you may contact the IRBPHS at the University of San Francisco, which is concerned with protection of volunteers in research projects. You may reach the IRBPHS office by calling (415) 422-6091 and leaving a voicemail message, by e-mailing IRBPHS@usfca.edu, or by writing to the IRBPHS, University of San Francisco, 2130 Fulton Street, San Francisco, CA 94117-1071.

PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH IS VOLUNTARY. You are free to decline to be in this study, or to withdraw from it at any point. Refusal to participate will involve no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled

Thank you for your attention. If you agree to participate, please sign the attached consent form and return it to me.

Sincerely,

Allison Briceño
Graduate Student, University of San Francisco

INFORMED CONSENT FORM
UNIVERSITY OF SAN FRANCISCO

CONSENT TO BE A RESEARCH SUBJECT

Purpose and Background

Ms. Allison Briceño, a graduate student in the School of Education at the University of San Francisco is doing a study on how students acquire academic language in Spanish and English in Dual Immersion programs. She is interested in learning what experienced teachers do to support academic language in dual immersion programs. I am being asked to participate because I am a teacher with at least two years of experience in a dual immersion program.

Procedures

If I agree to be a participant in this study, the following will happen:

1. Allison will observe in my classroom about one hour per week, from February through June. Allison will be allowed to use a video recorder in my classroom.

2. I will participate in three interviews, at my convenience, about teaching in a dual immersion program. The interviews will be audio or video recorded.

3. I will allow Allison to make copies of some student work, when necessary.

Risks and/or Discomforts

1. It is possible that having an observer in the classroom may make me feel uncomfortable, but I am free to reschedule an observation anytime, or to stop participation in the study at any time.
2. Participation in research may mean a loss of confidentiality. Study records will be kept as confidential as is possible. No individual identities will be used in any reports or publications resulting from the study. Study information will be coded and kept in locked files at all times. Only study personnel will have access to the files.
3. While none of the interview questions will be personal, I have the right to elect not to answer them, or to stop participation in the study at any time.

Benefits

There will be no direct benefit to me from participating in this study. The anticipated benefit of this study is a better understanding of how English learners acquire academic language and literacy in English and Spanish.

Costs/Financial Considerations

There will be no financial costs to me as a result of taking part in this study.

Payment/Reimbursement

There will be no payment / reimbursement for participating in this study.

Questions

I have talked to Ms. Briceño about this study and have had my questions answered. If I have further questions about the study, I may contact her at (650) 346-2585 or abriceno@gmail.com.

If I have any questions or comments about participation in this study, I should first talk with the researcher. If for some reason I do not wish to do this, I may contact the IRBPHS, which is concerned with protection of volunteers in research projects. I may reach the IRBPHS office by calling (415) 422-6091 and leaving a voicemail message, by e-mailing IRBPHS@usfca.edu, or by writing to the IRBPHS, Department of Psychology, University of San Francisco, 2130 Fulton Street, San Francisco, CA 94117-1080.

Consent

I have been given a copy of the "Research Subject's Bill of Rights" and I have been given a copy of this consent form to keep.

PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH IS VOLUNTARY. I am free to decline to be in this study, or to withdraw from it at any point. My decision as to whether or not to participate in this study will have no influence on my present or future status as a student or employee at USF.

My signature below indicates that I agree to participate in this study.

_____

Subject's Signature Date of Signature

_____

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent Date of Signature